

Contemporary Review

incorporating THE FORTNIGHTLY

No. 1110 JUNE 1958

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Literary Supplement—Contributors: George Glasgow, Arthur Moore, George Bilainkin, Ian R. Christie, S. F. A. Coles, Dr. J. Lesser, Dorothy Margaret Stuart, Grace Bonyard.

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CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

46-47 CHANCERY LANE . LONDON W.C.2

THOUGHTS ON OUR ECONOMIC SITUATION

JUDGING from the discussions which have been taking place in the House of Commons and elsewhere, it appears to be thought that the Budget of 1958 may soon be forgotten. It is of course true that it did not introduce any startling or drastic measures, and indeed they are not called for at the moment. The proposals were properly cautious in relation to the relief he felt able to recommend, all of which will be welcomed by the elderly income tax-payer, the cinema industry, and all those who will benefit from the concessions amounting, in a full year, to over 100 millions. The most important difference of opinion, as expressed in the debates, arose over the question of trade expansion and inflation. The view of the Opposition was that the situation today had deteriorated to an extent which made it essential to remove all restraints and credit restrictions and to adopt a policy of expansion. The measures which the Government took in the autumn to check the flight from the pound and restore confidence in our currency have been successful so far, and the position is still improving. The gold and dollar reserves have continued to rise steadily, and have now reached a total of 2,194 million dollars, the highest level since November, 1954. The rise has occurred at the time of year when normally the conditions of trade favour sterling, and an improvement in the balance is usual. There is no room for complacency about these figures, not nearly sufficient to dispel all dangers of another currency crisis; and the Chancellor must make it clear that no risks will be run by the Government in this respect. His decision to await developments until he is certain that a change in policy is desirable should be strongly supported and should restore the confidence of our overseas friends in our ability to maintain the stability of our currency.

It is a remarkable feature of our discussions on international finance that most people have no idea of the important part the opinion of our neighbours and friends overseas plays in deciding our domestic affairs. The world has become so much smaller, communication so much easier, that there are no longer any "foreign affairs," only international relations, and we in these islands may be affected by events in the Seychelles or Ceylon as much as by what happens on our doorsteps. In considering our overseas trading and monetary affairs we should never lose sight of the fact that we cannot live alone on these islands; we can only maintain, let alone increase, our standard of living if we can make and go on making goods and rendering services to our friends overseas of a kind they want at a price they are willing to pay. This inescapable truth should always be in our minds when considering industrial relations. A second and equally important consideration in determining the distribution of our national income is the unfortunate fact that, with the passage of time and change in developments and habits, three of our major industries are at present unable to pay their way, and will not in future be able to employ and support as many of our population as in the past. The railways face growing difficulties owing to the development of motor, passenger and air transport, and to the fact that so many makers and importers of manufactured goods prefer road transport. For similar reasons the coal mining industry is declining; the demand for coal is falling and may well fall more rapidly in the future. The situation of the bus industry, having regard to the development of private motor transport, is much more serious. In all these industries it would be a mistake to take

too pessimistic a view, for as old habits fall away or cease, new uses may arise. A thorough and impartial investigation of these industries is urgently needed at all levels. Fortunately there is much evidence that the need is being recognized.

Unfortunately, the temper and atmosphere in which public discussion takes place today are far from helpful. As, for example, the reception afforded to the first report of the Council on Prices, Productivity and Incomes, presided over by Lord Cohen. This report was a valuable document, produced by three authorities of recognized ability and impartiality. It was presented as a contribution to knowledge and an aid to discussion. Unfortunately, it was dismissed by many responsible trade unionists as a mere partisan contribution to a political argument. Further reports from the Cohen Committee will, it is hoped, appear from time to time, and if received in a proper spirit will enable us to reach agreement on some of the matters of great importance to our future.

The Budget enables the Government to place the financial situation before the people. In quite recent years there has been a great improvement in the nature and volume of statistical information on all our domestic and international trading transactions. Nevertheless, so far as I am aware, no attempt had been made to estimate the extent of the inescapable liabilities lying before us and those who follow us. Such an enquiry would have enabled the people, for the first time, to consider the economic and social facts which lie before them. It would reveal that all our departments of organized life are in a state of planned disorder. Finance and taxation are disorderly and unjust, and fortunately the Chancellor has made some beginning to mend this state of affairs. In education we have made some progress, but there is still much disorder, many enormous classes, too many condemned buildings; still worse, inadequate facilities for the training of teachers and for technical education. A formidable achievement in building new houses has been accomplished since the war, and the general situation is improving, but the complete confusion and disorder into which the whole system of rents had been forced was unreasonable and unjust. At last a Government was compelled to deal with a very difficult situation. The position had been getting more difficult since the end of the war, and it is typical of our political arrangements that the Bill has become a matter of party politics. As no Government of either party has had the courage to do anything about it, the responsibility should be shared equally between them and not made a matter of party strife. Transport is in a very unhappy position compared with France, Germany and other countries. The railways are out of date, the roads almost impossible. In 1956 5,500 people were killed on the roads, 26,700 seriously injured. Very large capital investment is needed if we are to end this disgraceful condition. The Minister of Transport, beginning the building of a new trunk road from Coventry to York, said this project proved the faith of the Government in the future of this country; a strange claim for the Government to make, for they have drawn hundreds of millions of pounds from the motor trade in taxation, while the amount devoted to the construction of new roads is almost negligible.

The Government may not accept the responsibilities for an estimate of the inescapable liabilities of the nation, but there can be little doubt that such an estimate would rouse the people to the necessary efforts. Further, if the sum involved is too great to be found immediately, the nation could

take a reasoned decision on priorities. One of the most serious obstacles to our complete recovery and to the smooth running of our national life is that industry is still regarded by many people as being divided into two sides, with conflicting interests, striving to obtain a larger share of the products of their labour; not in a common enterprise in which all should endeavour to improve the efficiency of services and to increase production. It is a simple truth that any section can only obtain a larger share of a national income, stationary or reaching its limit, at the expense of some other section; and attempts of this kind are responsible for many of our troubles. No changes in method and sentiment of this kind can be achieved by the Budget or legislation alone, but only by bringing about a full partnership in knowledge. This is a formidable task, but the need is now much more recognized, and attempts are being made by Institutions, the Universities, and by industrial organizations. It is only by an advance towards co-ownership of knowledge by all concerned in industry, of its purposes, methods, finances and difficulties, both domestic and international, that we can hope to end sectional interest. Irresponsible actions will only cease when all the facts are known and the nature of the possible consequences foreseen.

H. GRAHAM WHITE

FRANCE AND ALGERIA

THE 17th Ministerial crisis of the Fourth Republic stretching from the fall of the Gaillard Government on April 15 to the investiture of M. Pflimlin a month later was one of the longest. It occurred at a time calling insistently for decision and action in national and international politics. Bringing up to 300 days the total period during which the country has been deprived of a Government by crises since the Liberation, it has reinforced the suspicion widely felt abroad that France is falling from her rank. It is easy to spread the blame over the régime, the Constitution, the multiplicity of parties. What disconcerts the day-to-day observer of the evolution of the crisis, however, is the enormous jam of the procedure. The President of the Republic has performed his function conscientiously. But the interminable discussions of the groups at every changing stage, each pushing its chance, argue an unwillingness or incapacity to foresee a practicable compromise and make resolutely for it. The blinding logic of this uncompromising individualism is the worst fault in French public life.

It was more than once remarked that this crisis was different from its predecessors. This is true in the sense that the whole aim and method of French policy in Algeria and Africa were in dispute. The controversy between those who wish above all to pursue and intensify the war and those who wish to see negotiations begin had come to a head. The course of the crisis marked a certain evolution, not quite conclusive, towards liberalism. The Gaillard Government had come down over its acceptance of the suggestions of the Americano-British "good offices" as a basis of renewed negotiations with Tunisia, which was rejected by a majority which feared it as a step towards the "internationalization" of the Algerian

problem. M. Bidault, who made the first attempt to form a new Government, was a spokesman of the determined "French Algeria" school. Disavowed by his own party, the M.R.P., he failed, and his failure proved that there was no longer any majority in the National Assembly for an uncompromising policy. M. Pleven was the next candidate for office, and though he failed his enterprise was significant of the state of opinion. Starting from the notion that the "nationalist" parties—among whom the Socialists had in the last two years come to be classed—were "condemned to live together," M. Pleven conceived a monumental Government. All the parties were to be represented in the Cabinet, not merely by minor personages but by their leaders. Unable to obtain Socialist participation he gave up the scheme of a Ministry of all the notables, and fell back on the usual dosing of group representatives, the Socialists promising support from outside. But in M. Pleven's view his scheme retained its element of grandeur in a solemn declaration of the principles of French policy in Algeria to which all parties could subscribe. This included, necessarily, continuance of the military effort, "non-internationalization," and, at the same time, the institution of liberal measures destined to lead to a negotiated settlement.

In the end M. Pleven's project of a Ministerial combination was wrecked by one appointment which was a blunder. The choice of M. Morice, a dissident Radical, as Minister of National Defence provoked the withdrawal of the three Radical-Socialist Deputies who had accepted posts in the Government. M. Morice, who had previously been Minister of National Defence, had identified himself with the out-and-out war party. The Radical-Socialists had already warned M. Pleven that they would not give their endorsement to a Government which by its composition alone would exclude the possibility of "seeing African policy evolve in a liberal sense." The successful objections to M. Morice showed that liberalism has made some headway in Parliamentary opinion. A still more notable symptom of the progress is the disappearance of M. Lacoste from the post of Resident Minister in Algeria, which resulted from the decision of the Socialists, M. Lacoste's party, not to participate in any Government for the present.

By their numbers, and still more by their "geographical" position in the National Assembly, the Socialists remain the most influential group. The decision to avoid participation enables them to keep their cohesion, but it scarcely conceals a change which is taking place in the general attitude of the party towards the Algerian problem. The minority critical of the Mollet-Lacoste policy of the last two years is getting a better hearing. M. Mollet, himself an accomplished strategist, has a remarkable faculty for keeping his own counsel until the time for action comes, has evolved. His contacts at the International Socialist Conference in London must have made him more directly acquainted with the unpopularity of the French Algerian policy of the last two years among European Socialists generally. In any case he seems to have favoured a guarantee of steady Socialist support, first to M. Pleven and after his failure to M. Pflimlin.

Delay in government-making did not ease the Algerian situation. In a conference at Tangier the Nationalist parties of Tunisia and Morocco joined with the F.L.N. in recommending the constitution of an Algerian Government, though with the prudent proviso that this should be done

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after consultation with the Tunisian and Moroccan Governments. The execution of three French prisoners of war by the F.L.N., a further step towards the complete brutalization of the conflict, seemed to be designed to discourage the formation of a French Government of accommodation. Troubles also occurred in several French African territories.

After a short series of pirouettes by minor candidates who received formal invitations to construct a Ministry but declined with exemplarily rapidity, the President of the Republic called in M. Pflimlin, the leader of the M.R.P., whose Government obtained investiture, not without difficulty. M. Pflimlin formed his Ministry on much the same lines as M. Pleven, whom he received into his Cabinet as Minister of Foreign Affairs. On Algeria he declared his intention to intensify the military effort, to render the Algerian frontiers inviolable. On the other hand the dispositions of the *loi-cadre* would be applied without delay in a liberal spirit.

M. Pflimlin declared that the Government, at a favourable moment chosen by itself, would take the initiative in offering *pourparlers* with a view to a "cease-fire." In view of the repercussions which had been caused by his previous announcement of his intention, M. Pflimlin repeated his opinion that the Government should not resign itself to settling down into the war indefinitely, but he added that it would not accept that the links which united Algeria to France should ever be broken.

In his final appeal he said that the moment for *pourparlers* would be chosen when France was in an indisputable position of strength.

In his plans for the restoration of the finances and economy, as well as in his scheme for constitutional reform, M. Pflimlin conceived his Government as an instrument for a specific purpose of renovation to be concentrated into a short period. He contemplated the withdrawal of his Ministry after the proposed Constitutional reform had been carried, so that a new Government could be constituted under the new order.

The economic situation, which persistent political insecurity has continued to disturb, revealed ominous symptoms during the spring. While production remains at a high level imports continued to exceed exports, and the French deficit at the E.U.P.—50 million dollars in April after 56 millions in March—seemed likely to exhaust before the end of the year the stocks of foreign currency replenished a few months ago by the American and European loans. Rising prices provoked demands for increased wages, backed up by warning strikes.

The debate on the investiture took place in dramatic circumstances. Demonstrations largely organized by associations of ex-Service men to protest against the execution of three French prisoners of war by the F.L.N. assumed a character of insurrection at Algiers. The formation of a "civil and military committee" presided over by a French General was an act of which M. Pflimlin in his appeal for the investiture of his Government marked the gravity. Demonstrations in Paris at the Arc de Triomphe and the Place de la Concorde were also given a political character, hostile to the régime.

The Algiers challenge exposed the weak joints of the armour of the régime in time of crisis. The first concern of the new Government was to hold a Council of Ministers at dawn to deal with this grave emergency. The result was an order of the President of the Republic to the army in Algeria to obey the Government of the Republic—an unprecedented

exercise of the President's constitutional powers as head of the military forces. Whatever the amplitude of the Algiers movement may prove to be it obviously did not facilitate M. Pflimlin's task at the beginning.

In face of the Algiers defiance and the consequent embarrassment of the parties in the National Assembly the investiture of M. Pflimlin could not be a triumph. He had, however, a majority of 274 against 129, and would still have had a small majority if the Communists had voted against him instead of abstaining. The vote illustrated the permanent arithmetical difficulty of setting up a stable Government in this Legislature. Of the 400 Deputies who make up the full possible clientèle of any government, leaving out the Communists and Poujadists, 274 is not far from the maximum to be hoped for. But it is far from being a safe majority. The Communists are an opposition party, and if they were joined in opposing by a small defection from the 274 the Government would be defeated. The Communists are still playing with the idea of a Popular Front in alliance with the Socialists. The fear of this eventuality felt by the Conservatives may possibly serve the new Government, as it helped the Mollet minority Government of 1956.

For a long time before the incidents of Algiers came to disturb it, public opinion had suffered from the absence of decisive leadership in Parliament. The reaction to the disorder and inefficiency of Parliament led here and there to demands for a "Government of public safety" or for the placing of power in the hands of an extra-Parliamentary authority. The most conspicuous of possible authorities outside Parliament is General de Gaulle. Much of the agitation for an appeal to him is sentimental, like that of the Senator who calls for "a regrouping once more around the Liberator;" but there is probably a more direct reference to present-day politics in the delegation of part of the personnel of the Simca motor works and a petition from the Bordeaux region, and certainly in the posters placarded on the Paris hoardings. General de Gaulle himself remained silent. Several political leaders questioned by a Paris newspaper on the suggestion of calling him in, said that before answering they would like to know exactly the position of the General on present problems.

It should be recorded that the departmental council (county council) elections, which took place in the midst of the Ministerial crisis and in which many Deputies and Senators were candidates, were apparently little affected by the behaviour of Parliament. The Communists lost a third of their seats and the M.R.P. gained a few, but there was no marked change in the general representation of the parties. This "stability" was all the more notable as 67 per cent of the electors voted at the first ballot, and there were fewer abstentions than at the last previous election.

After the first shock of the Algiers outbreak it became apparent in Paris, on reflection, that its promoters had not succeeded in all their designs. The first of the organized demonstrations was political, and was intended to frighten Parliament and prevent the investiture of M. Pflimlin. That aim was defeated. The schemes, moreover, had no longer any outstanding personality in Paris politics capable of acting as an agent of the Algerian *ultras*, M. Bidault, M. Lacoste and M. André Morice having all lost position in the course of the Ministerial crisis. Without effective Paris leaders to act in their support, the Algiers demonstrators could not hope for the formation of a Government to their liking. In a National Assembly

which has shown such a lack of spirit and cohesion the Algiers events provoked a rally in support of M. Pflimlin. The Socialists agreed to participate in the Government by sending M. Mollet to be Vice-President of the Ministry. M. Pinay, the leader of the Independents, declined to join, but the Independent Ministers, who at one moment had been expected to resign, remained at their posts, and the Deputies of "national parties" really in agreement with the Algiers schemes are few.

General de Gaulle broke his long silence and published a declaration that he was ready to assume the powers of the Republic. It has been affirmed that he was referring to the formation of a Government in the normal way, after a regular invitation from the President of the Republic. His laconic declaration was made about the time when General Salan at Algiers was concluding a broadcast with a "Vive le Général de Gaulle."

The Government took precautions against disorder in France by proposing to declare a "state of urgency" for three months. There remains the long and delicate task of repairing the injuries done to the political life and dignity of France and to re-establish regular relations with the military command and the civil administration in Algeria.

The confused situation at Algiers and the uncertainty felt about the attitude of the military chiefs there continued to cause uneasiness in Parliament. In the debate on the Bill declaring a state of urgency (which was voted by a very large majority) M. Pflimlin spoke with firmness, but did not conceal his anxiety. Over the debate hovered the enigmatical declaration made by General de Gaulle on the previous day. His words were variously interpreted, but most people noted most particularly the fact that he did not contradict the spokesmen of the Algiers movement who made use of his name. Necessarily, Parliament lacks whatever fraction of its authority it has wasted in the instability of the last few years. The problem of expressing the legitimate constitutional authority in Algeria was aggravated by this loss of Parliamentary authority in France.

Vernon, France.

W. L. MIDDLETON.

TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE victory of Mr. Strijdom in the Union and the defeat of Sir Edgard Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, at Hillside, Bulawayo, have indicated that the Whites in Africa south of the Zambezi are resolved to maintain their control. This resolution, incidentally, favours Nationalist Afrikanerdom, and it would seem to illustrate a reaction towards authoritarian principles noticeable in Canada and India. Although the United Party was in better heart, better led, and seemed to be more effectively organized in 1958 than in 1953 it fared worse. The Nationalists no longer have a distinct majority of the total votes cast, while they hold almost two-thirds of the seats, many with increased majorities. The ground gained appears to be due to indoctrination of youth which has come on to the roll since 1953, and to increasing English-speaking support. The Nationalists have broken a local record by securing power for a third consecutive term,

and they bear no apparent mark of decline, such as usually affects governments after 10 years in office.

Many questioned whether the talent and experience in the United Party were equal to governing. Its young leader, Sir de Villiers Graaff, had never held a Cabinet portfolio and might not, they thought, have proved able to stem a liberalistic trend among some of his supporters where some folk were expecting too much. Graaff stressed that his Party did not stand for racial equality; but the public preferred Mr. Strijdom, who declared himself squarely for White Supremacy. Until the last act, neither he nor his lieutenants advanced arguments or gave undertakings, as did Opposition speakers. Then, suddenly, he adroitly introduced a dramatic note. He declared that he would stand no nonsense from any demonstrator, and would protect those who wanted to go to work from being victimized by their leaders as happened in the bus boycott last year. He also warned agitators overseas not to exert pressure on non-European matters, such as might prejudice the good relations between his government and that in the U.K. These gestures were most effective, and the United Party, which had more to lose by non-White demonstrating, fell into the trap of belittling the Prime Minister. It was made thus to look as if only Nationalists could be firm and others were financial internationalists and liberals after all, as has been contended frequently in this country. All this sadly illustrated how overseas leftists who dilate on matters African defeat their presumed objective; they only make things worse for agencies of progress within Africa by thus playing into the hands of reaction. It illustrates, equally, that there is no hope for an alternative party, unless conservative, best described as of the Centre. If this is not recognized in policy and tactics it is hard to see how another party, independent of all Nationalism, can survive; and in such case the death of the United Party would help to free English-speaking people and anglicized Afrikaners to enter public life from which they have been banned or have excluded themselves. Graaff realizes this, but defeat was necessary to give him a moral ascendancy over the caucus which has shown so little imagination or political astuteness. The vigorous and charming new leader could not remove the "dead wood" at once; nor had there been time to find and train replacements mainly of a younger age. Unfortunately English-speaking people are being seduced by Apartheid, believing it to be an easy way out, which it is not; and all White Africans regard the maintenance of their hegemony as the top priority. Many think little except to dream of a social and cultural, as well as a political, triumph of Afrikanerdom.

Will Strijdom be able, in such circumstances, to take off the brake as occasion may demand to avoid a rising or passive resistance by non-Whites? Were there to be misjudgment on this, it might be too late to call in the man whom Faith might have indicated but Fear shunned. He has good ideas on constitutional, economic and subcontinental affairs from which the country sorely needs to benefit. To have won, however, he had to have an emotional appeal for the average Afrikaner for whom the blood counts and the republic symbolizes it. This was the reason for the formula for testing popular feeling on that issue, much tactical advantage without commitment on the issue, ingeniously conceived by Dr. Wassenaar, who might have been ready to associate with Graaff had he adopted it. It was a case of offering to introduce legislative machinery by means of which,

by plebiscite, it would always have been possible to discover whether over two-thirds of the people wanted a republic of sound constitutional character within the Commonwealth, and whether there was in any province objection by over one-third.

In the past informed folk in South Africa have regarded the republic as a "red herring," but times are changing. In the event of a return of Labour to power in Britain, with intent to apply its declared policy with respect to Africa, many English-speaking people would favour a soundly organized republic, as witness letters received by the Prime Minister, including some from people of prominence. In such circumstances many in the Federation, particularly in Southern Rhodesia, would feel the same, which might lead to a union of the Southern Rhodesian state largely composed of English-speaking people, and South Africa. Such association would be welcomed elsewhere in Africa south of the Sahara as likely to add to cohesion. Indeed, it may prove to be the only way to get the other countries of the West to see that White Control in southern Africa, with Africa the divided middle for the world struggle ahead, is basic to Western survival, and to get the East to pause from further depredations.

Graaff and Welensky are internationally and subcontinentally minded; also, they see the solution similarly of the racial problem as lying in well-organized inter-racial economic co-operation, mutually beneficial to Black and White. It is, moreover, through this type of policy alone that civilization and prosperity can be assured by the inevitability of gradualness. That cannot come from "baaskap" under a White phalangism. By that, the Native would go on "hewing wood and drawing water" indefinitely, except to the extent that he was despatched to separate areas, where his progress, even assisted, would be very slow and difficult, and the country's defence and development would be obstructed. Nor could civilization and prosperity be assured by liberalism, the other extreme policy, whose protagonists talk of universal suffrage but have so far indicated no outline plan of how this is to be attained without leading to chaos.

The non-European is better off south of the Zambesi than elsewhere, and steps can be taken gradually to give him some voice in affairs, as witness the United Party Senate proposals which also safeguard White Control. The advance of the non-White occupationally will go on, for it is in the interest of the vast majority and is inevitable. With a flow of suitable immigrants, possessed of technological and superintendent powers and of skills in trades, there would be no arrest of economic progress. Production and productivity would increase under streamlined operating on farms, at mines and in factories. Contentment would be secured for the masses under an all-round rising income, consumption and export. The burden of sub-economic non-European urban services would disappear; capital would be attracted from outside and enterprising settlers would arrive to establish undertakings. There is strong potential support for this type of programme in both political parties and desire for it among business men of both races. The unique need is political re-orientation. Its fulfilment depends on a duel which is likely between the racio-ideological and the socio-economic within Nationalism. Strijdom desires English-speaking support for a republic, but may underestimate the need for moderation generally in deference to economic necessity and English-speaking susceptibility. The Transvaal has been economically supreme through gold for half a century, but he seeks to push it

politically, which will annoy the Cape, and to promote Apartheid for ideological reasons, opposed by "big business." These aims might meet disaster in the form of financial stringency and consequential public discontent.

This would give Graaff his chance to invite the Cape Nationalist leader, Dr. T. E. Donges, protégé for years of Dr. D. F. Malan, to come under his political umbrella. Alternatively, after the appearance of the forthcoming book on the course of South African politics by the mature, mellow and moderate Malan, Donges might break away from the disliked Transvaalers under Strijdom, Malan's old adversary. In that event, he might well need Graaff's support and ask him in, if only the budding prime minister had disembarrassed himself of his liberal-minded friends. That would give the country precisely the complexion of government corresponding to its administrative requirements, while assuring it strength and consistency by virtue of political authority.

But the cultural aspect is more fundamental than the political and more difficult to dispose of. How are we to progress in uniting the two White segments by the emergence of a cultural variant, accommodated to its environment, quintessentially South African? Afrikaners are increasingly urging that, without a coming together, the future will remain most uncertain for White Africans, so here is a field for scholarship and goodwill. We have to discover how to reconcile that spirit of Consent, which is at the root of Anglo-Saxon political philosophy, with the pseudo-Teutonic urge to Constraint which seems to animate most Afrikaners; and it is the more virulent because of Calvinism, itself a political philosophy which cannot easily absorb the extraneous or apply itself flexibly in the interest of social cohesion. How also do we reconcile those who are satisfied in their possession of a well evolved culture rooted in a renowned world language (recognized by the Afrikaner as a boon to him) with those who aspire to create, nevertheless, a full-scale culture of their own under a language still to be perfected?

Such are the imponderables which show themselves in strivings over a republic. The English-speaking people are increasingly a minority, but will continue to say that unity must develop empirically, which will bring an end to racial politics and might find symbolic fulfilment in a republic. The Afrikaner argues conversely. He avers that it is only through the existence of a republic that unity will be achieved, because those who appear to him to testify to some degree of duality of allegiance will then have to give undivided loyalty to South Africa. A solution of this cultural problem would be expedited if the Rhodesians come in. This would be the more likely if British leftists went on breaking the golden rule of the Commonwealth that no member shall interfere officially, or if with pervading influence unofficially, in the internal affairs of other members, however justified, morally, that member might feel. Thus we end with the paradox that forces which threaten to disrupt the Commonwealth might serve in the elimination of racialism and political confusion in Southern Africa. Let us hope that such disruption may be avoided, and cohesion secured in politics in Commonwealth states in Africa, however constitutionally organized.

THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. I

ON February 18th, 1948 the rumour reached London that the curtain was about to fall on the 16-year régime of Mr. De Valera's Fianna Fáil Government. It was reported that Dublin political circles had been electrified by a statement issued by General Richard Mulcahy, Leader of Fine Gael, that the various opposition groups had agreed to coalesce in a solid block to defeat Mr. De Valera's nomination when the 13th Dail was to hold its opening meeting the following day. General Mulcahy issued the following statement :—

"In view of the defeat of the Fianna Fáil Party at the General Election, and being desirous of offering the people an alternative Government, the representatives of Fine Gael, Labour, Clann na Poblachta (Sons of the Republic) and Independents have agreed to support the nomination of Mr. John A. Costello, S.C., T.D., for the post of Taoiseach (Prime Minister)."

On February 19th the expected happened. When the new Chamber of Deputies met, 70 members voted for Mr. De Valera as Prime Minister and 76 voted for Mr. Costello. Not since 1932, when Mr. De Valera ousted Mr. Cosgrave, had there been such excitement at Leinster House. The public gallery was crowded long before 3 p.m., the hour at which the Dail had been summoned to meet, and hundreds of people could not obtain admission. Lord Rugby, the British representative, had a seat in the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery. After the defeat of the nomination of Mr. De Valera as Prime Minister, a second division had to take place on the proposal to appoint Mr. Costello. This time the voting was 75 in favour and 68 against. Mr. Oliver Flanagan, Independent, jumped from his seat and pointing a taunting finger at Mr. De Valera shouted :—

"Thanks be to God I have lived to see this day."

He was rebuked by the Speaker, who said :—

"Deputy Flanagan should not start off on the wrong foot so early in the new Dail."

Mr. John Aloysius Costello, the new Prime Minister, is a Senior Counsel and was then 57 years of age. He had been Attorney-General in the Cosgrave administration and had attended the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930 and had had a good deal to do with the framing of the Statute of Westminster in 1931. In his first broadcast on February 25th, Mr. Costello declared that the chief of the fundamental objectives of the new Government was its determination to assert the right of the Irish Nation to complete territorial unity and absolute freedom. He went on to state :—

"In the formation of the new inter-Party Government the people's genius for democracy had proved and asserted itself. Each of the groups that compose the Government had its own separate policy and individuality which it would continue to maintain. It is composed of men who do not desire office, profit, power or patronage, but who are joined together to do what they can for their own people acting in the spirit and letter of the constitution."

It was at Ottawa, and not in Dublin, that on September 7th Mr. Costello, when addressing a Parliamentary Press Conference, confirmed the rumour that his Government was preparing to repeal the External Relations Act of 1936—the last link between Eire and the British Commonwealth. It was

by virtue of this Act, passed at the time of the abdication of Edward VIII, that the King discharged certain functions of state, such as accrediting Eire's representatives to other countries.

Mr. Costello maintained that:—

"The External Relations act was full of *inaccuracies and infirmities* and the only thing to do was to scrap it."

Mr. Costello also told the reporters that the country would be independent of the British Crown yet "friendly and working in association with the Commonwealth of Nations." Mr. Costello said that to all intents and purposes he was Prime Minister of all Ireland—"no matter what the Irish in the North may say."

Mr. W. Norton, Deputy Prime Minister and Leader of the Labour Party, said in an interview in Dublin:—

"My views about the External Relations Act are that it is perfectly absurd for a country claiming to be a Republic, to select a foreign monarch to accredit its representatives abroad. No other Republic in the world adopted this miserable attitude, and no set of circumstances in Eire can explain why we should adopt this extraordinary procedure. The repeal of the Act will, I feel, enhance our national self-respect at home and abroad."

In reply to this declaration Sir Basil Brooke, (Lord Brookeborough) Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, issued the following statement:—

"Those who have followed the course of events in Southern Ireland will not be surprised at Mr. Costello's announcement at Ottawa that Eire is preparing to scrap her External Relations Act. Her political leaders have already declared that their country is not a member of the British Commonwealth. We in Ulster have always foreseen these developments which completely justify our unwavering refusal to join Eire in deserting Britain and the British communities overseas."

The question which now arose was whether the British and Dominion Governments and the United States would be asked to recognise Eire as a Republic. Speaking in the House of Commons on September 21st I asked Mr. Herbert Morrison whether he had seen the official statement made by Mr. MacBride, the Eire Minister of External Relations, in the Dail on July 21st when he said:—"We are certainly not a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations." I then asked the Leader of the House how it was possible to put questions on this subject to the Secretary of Commonwealth Relations. Mr. Morrison replied:—

"Questions relating to Eire should continue to be addressed to this Minister, and I have no reason to expect that they will be refused at the Table."

When Mr. Costello landed at Queenstown on his return from Canada on October 2nd he held the reporters:—

"When the Dail meets next month the Government will introduce legislation to abolish the External Relations Act. This is a constructive and not a destructive proposal as it will bring unity to our country."

When asked if his Government was outstepping the late Fianna Fail Government of Mr. De Valera in this respect he replied:—

"You can draw your own conclusion."

He agreed, however, that the intention to repeal the External Relations Act had not been mentioned during the General Election campaign in the previous January.

The Conservative Party Conference met on October 11th at Llandudno and Mr. Churchill in his address said:—

"Southern Ireland, or Eire, is about to cast off the last tenuous association with the Crown and is apparently expecting Ulster, without whose loyalty we could not have maintained our life-line into the Mersey and Clyde during the war, to be driven out by us, against her will, from the British Empire."

And he told the Conservative Party:—

"You were quite right to record by a special resolution your inflexible resolve to resist any policy of coercing Ulster to abandon her allegiance to the Crown."

The consequences of the repeal of the External Relations Act, which was proposed by the Eire Government, were discussed at Chequers on October 18th between the United Kingdom, the Dominion ministers and Eire. After the meeting an official statement was issued from 10 Downing Street which said:—

"There was a general exchange of views on matters of common interest arising out of the declared intention of the Eire Government to repeal the External Relations Act."

Mr. MacBride said in an interview with the *Manchester Guardian*:—

"As a constitutional fiction the External Relations Act pleased no one and when it goes the British Government will realise that such worn out constitutional fictions are only reminders of a not too happy past and form a barrier to better relationships."

It was, however, pointed out that the first consequence of Eire's repeal of the External Relations Act would be that citizens of Eire resident in Britain would have to opt for British citizenship, or automatically become aliens. Secondly, the recent Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement would have to be reviewed. It was essentially a Treaty that could only be made with another Commonwealth country. If it were retained it was more than probable that other foreign states would demand similar consideration under "most favoured nation" agreements. This situation could not be accepted by Britain. The action of the Eire Government excited profound interest in the Dominions and the *Sydney Morning Herald* wrote on October 18th:—

"If Eire chose to assume the status of a foreign country she could not expect to continue to receive the benefits which arose from membership of the British Commonwealth. Nor can she expect the same forbearance as was exercised by Britain and America during the last struggle."

Referring to this point Mr. Costello, speaking in Dublin on October 25th, said:—

"We fully appreciate whatever consequences may arise from the repeal and are prepared for any such consequences."

The subject came up in the House of Commons in the debate on the Address in reply to the King's speech and Mr. Churchill said:—

"I must confess I was astonished to learn some weeks ago of Mr. Costello's decision to sever the last link with the Crown which even Mr. De Valera had deemed it necessary to preserve."

He went on to say:—

"Mr. Costello and his colleagues had constituted themselves as the

authors of a permanent partition of Ireland. They had made a gulf which was unbridgeable except by physical force."

And he added:—

"I cannot conceive that it is in the bounds of possibility that any British Parliament would drive the people of Ulster out of the United Kingdom and force them to become the citizens of a foreign state against their will. I well know the grievous injury which Southern Irish neutrality and the loss of the Southern Irish ports inflicted upon us in the recent war, but I always adhered to the policy that nothing save British existence and survival should lead us to regain the ports by force of arms."

Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean, M.P., published in the *Daily Telegraph* of November 2nd an interview which he had had with Mr. Sean MacBride, Eire's Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"I said something about a crisis in our relations."

"There is no crisis," replied Mr. MacBride, "Eire walked out of the Empire 10 years ago. All we are doing by repealing the External Relations Act is to abolish an out-worn fiction as insulting to the British Crown as it is irritating to us. The Government of Eire felt that by repealing it, they were placing Anglo-Irish relations on a sounder footing, and, at the same time, removing a cause of internal dissension in the country itself."

The opponents of Mr. Costello and the new Government did not fail to point out that in his address to the electors of Dublin South-East at the recent election the following words occurred:—

"If it, (Fine Gael) is elected to power it will not propose any alteration in the present constitution in relation to external affairs."

Furthermore, immediately after the General Election Mr. MacBride stated in the Dail that, as his Party had failed to secure a popular mandate, he had decided to leave the problem of secession in abeyance.

On November 15th, Mr. Costello had an interview with the United Press in which he said that:—

"The repeal of the External Relations Act will take the guns out of Irish politics and will give us complete independence with a Republican form of Government."

He went on to predict that Ireland would cut her last link with the British Crown before Christmas and he declared that this was not an anti-British step. On the contrary, it would enable Ireland to be on still more friendly terms with Britain.

How this was to be carried out will be seen when the Bill for setting up the Republic was introduced into the Dail and a most interesting debate took place. This will be described in our next issue.

To be continued.

DOUGLAS L. SAVORY

TRIAL IN LISBON

HENRIQUE GALVAO is a Liberal writer and a former captain in the Portuguese Army. He is 63. A secret court has sentenced him to 16 years' imprisonment and to the deprivation of his civic rights.

The scene is not Communist-occupied Budapest but Lisbon. Galvao has languished in prison since 1951. On March 31, 1953, when he appealed, a three-year sentence against him was confirmed. In 1951 and 1953 the charges against him were "conspiracy against the security of the State," "planned violent subversion of public order," and "forceful entry into the precincts of the National Assembly and other organs of sovereignty." That sentence should have terminated at the end of 1954, but Galvao was not set free. This year another charge has been brought against him. It alleges that he employed the printing equipment of his prison to organize the "scurrilous defamation" of the President and Prime Minister of Portugal, by crude anonymous leaflets which (so it is asserted) went beyond "free and normal criticism." The current tactic has been to invoke Article 593 of the Portuguese Criminal Procedure Code, which concerns all offences against personal honour, for example, defamation and calumny. Article 593 prescribes that only such persons as may be required to intervene in the trial shall attend it, while Article 407 provides for the presence of lawyers and others professionally interested. The secret trial re-opened in Lisbon in late February and was adjourned until March 4, with a former Prime Minister appearing among the defence witnesses.

Here are some of the facts of the case. The two fundamental facts are: first, that Henrique Galvao has been a forceful and unrelenting critic of forced labour conditions in the Portuguese African province of Angola, and, secondly, that he supported an anti-Salazar candidate in 1951. It seems that, as a younger man, Captain Galvao had not been anti-Salazar. But in 1947 he was sent to report on conditions in Angola. The Government suppressed the report. Both the conditions and the suppression angered Galvao. The report was duly circulated to Opposition leaders, and Mr. Basil Davidson incorporated some of its material in his famous book, *The African Awakening*. Doubtless all this displeased the dictatorship, but until 1951 Galvao continued to enjoy personal freedom. In that year, he supported the anti-Salazar Opposition candidature of Admiral Meireles. With several colleagues he was arrested as a result of a political intervention which was aspersed to be a *coup d'état*.

What of Angola as an issue in the Lisbon trial? A centre of the slave trade for centuries, Angola has been Portuguese since 1482, with a seven-year spell of Dutch rule in the mid-seventeenth century. It covers 481,000 square miles, 14 times the area of Portugal, and has some 80,000 Europeans and more than four million Africans. Its chief city, Luanda, with a population of 190,000, can boast three daily newspapers, yet nineteen-twentieths of Angola's people are illiterate. Forced labour is the keystone of the economy; its pillars are coffee, maize, sugar and palm-oil. Angola like Mozambique, is agreeably free from the colour bar, and *assimilado* or *civilizado*—the process of encouraging Africans to assume the Portuguese way of life—is the order of the day. However, although *assimilado* status is enjoyed by about 30,000 Angolans, its terms are heavily weighted against the African in a territory in which provision for secondary education is negligible. The forced labour system which Galvao attacked is the disgrace of Portuguese Africa. Its 18-month contract period breaks up families for long intervals and keeps the population low. The master indents for the labourer from the State, and has no responsibility for his care, for if the man dies, the master indents for another from the State. Small wonder that the

system has been under continuous fire from Asian and African members ever since Portugal joined the United Nations in 1955. Twice in 1957, in April and December, resolutions demanding Portugal's compliance with Chapter 11, Article 73E, of the United Nations Charter have failed to secure the required number of votes. All this is germane to the theme of the Galvao trial. Article 73E imposes upon United Nations members with responsibilities for non-self-governing territories the duty of regularly transmitting to the Secretary General "for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions for which they are respectively responsible" other than those territories to which the international trusteeship system applies. The Salazar Government has hitherto escaped the duty of reporting under Article 73E. The voice that would have favoured a report to the United Nations on Angola is now gagged. The Salazar Government can advance the ready-made argument that, since the constitutional changes of 1951, Portugal is an Afro-European Power, that the Article does not apply, and that Angola is not a non-self-governing territory but an overseas province of a constitutionally unitary republic and directly administered by a Governor-General responsible to the Ministry of Overseas Territories at Lisbon. Indeed a decree of June, 1951, substituted the term "overseas province" for the older term "colonias." How long this clever stratagem will "wash" we cannot tell. It must nauseate Galvao and all who think with him.

The Galvao case has provoked two cogent and powerful editorials in *The Star* and the *News Chronicle* and notable coverage by the *Manchester Guardian* Legal Correspondent. Elsewhere it has elicited singularly little British Press comment. On February 23, the *Observer* was good enough to print a statement from me, as Chairman of the Liberal Party Executive, in which I indicated that reports from the Portuguese Corporate State revealed "a disregard of civic and personal rights as complete as that which prevails in the Communist States, in Spain, and in some South American dictatorships." This may seem harsh comment on a Republic which has been Britain's Ally ever since the marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, gave us loyal friendship in the First World War, and joined us as a NATO member-nation in April, 1949. It is, also, profoundly true. The Lisbon trial imperils the alliance. At this late hour, Portugal could respond to Dr. Nathaniel Micklem's appeal to her President for clemency. She could quash the 16-year sentence. To liberate Henrique Galvao would be to right a grievous wrong.

DERYCK ABEL

Postscript, May 12, 1958.—The sentence has since been confirmed on 13 counts. The aim of the Salazar Ministry is, first, to keep the world in darkness about conditions in Angola and in Lisbon, and, secondly, to intimidate the Opposition. News that General Humberto Delgado, Director of Civil Aviation, is standing as Opposition candidate for the Presidency in the coming elections confirms rumours that several erstwhile supporters of Dr. Salazar are about to desert him. Significantly, the first circular, issued on behalf of the candidature of General Delgado and signed by 80 leading Liberals, comments: "It is not for the Head of State to govern. That is the function of the Government. Neither is it to legislate: that is the function of the Legislative Assembly. But it is his duty to protect the rights and guarantees of citizens, without discrimination, and with impartiality, and to ensure that all affairs of State are pursued in accordance with the Constitution. Thus when a citizen like Captain Henrique Galvao is sentenced, for injuries to the personalities of the regime, to 16 years' imprisonment—and this at his age

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DERYCK ABEL

Postscript, May 12, 1958.—The sentence has since been confirmed on 13 counts. The aim of the Salazar Ministry is, first, to keep the world in darkness about conditions in Angola and in Lisbon, and, secondly, to intimidate the Opposition. News that General Humberto Delgado, Director of Civil Aviation, is standing as Opposition candidate for the Presidency in the coming elections confirms rumours that several erstwhile supporters of Dr. Salazar are about to desert him. Significantly, the first circular, issued on behalf of the candidature of General Delgado and signed by 80 leading Liberals, comments: "It is not for the Head of State to govern. That is the function of the Government. Neither is it to legislate: that is the function of the Legislative Assembly. But it is his duty to protect the rights and guarantees of citizens, without discrimination, and with impartiality, and to ensure that all affairs of State are pursued in accordance with the Constitution. Thus when a citizen like Captain Henrique Galvao is sentenced, for injuries to the personalities of the regime, to 16 years' imprisonment—and this at his age

means dying in gaol—every Portuguese citizen is shocked and moved and asks his conscience whether the Constitution is still in force." It is common form in the Portuguese Corporate State to bring Opposition leaders to trial immediately before elections. Last year about 70 Liberals were tried before the National Assembly elections. This year on March 11, the Supreme Court of Lisbon rejected the appeal of Dr. Humberto Lopes and five more Liberals. Such trials, together with other forms of intimidation, are calculated to create a suitable psychological climate for the forthcoming Presidential elections. Moreover, the Salazar regime never forgives men who have once co-operated within it and afterwards come out and talk. Even the very first Prime Minister of the dictatorship, under whom Dr. Salazar served as Minister of Finance, was arrested and imprisoned in 1951. He was later "freed" presumably because he is now regarded as politically innocuous.

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The more the Emperor saw of Haussmann the more he was impressed. Here was the man to carry out his dream of making Paris the model city. Summoned to the Ministry of the Interior in June, 1853, he was selected from a group of five Prefects. Inviting each of them separately to dinner Persigny had no difficulty in making his choice. The portrait in his Memoirs many years later is the most elaborate and penetrating that we possess of the man he describes as one of the most extraordinary figures of the time. When asked to describe events in his Department at the time

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of the *coup* and the difficulties he had overcome, he recounted his campaign against the opposition in the Bordeaux municipality and his face shone with pride. While the words poured forth in a flood the Minister could not hide his satisfaction. Rough work lay ahead, requiring an experienced, resourceful and thick-skinned official, a born fighter who could hold his own against all comers and scorned red tape. Persigny rejoiced to think of letting loose this tall tigerish animal among the foxes and wolves who would oppose the generous aims of the Emperor. In his letter of acceptance the new Prefect wrote that he belonged to the Emperor without reserve.

For the following 16½ years the Prefect of the Seine and the Dictator marched forward in unbroken harmony. While the latter rejoiced in the prowess of the most dynamic of his agents, Haussmann felt a growing regard for his master which shines through the *Memoirs* compiled long after the fall of the Empire. As an eye-witness of Orsini's bomb attack he admired the sang-froid of the intended victim whose first words were "Look after the wounded." Too gentle and trustful, calm and benevolent by nature, he harboured no lingering resentments even for grave offences. "I only once saw him angry. Some sudden contrariety occasionally brought a light into his gentle and even caressing eyes. There was rarely an exclamation, never an unsuitable outburst. He remembered every service. He pardoned his adversaries, once they were disarmed, too easily for prudence, for he did not always take sufficient account of their record and believed in the sincerity of political conversions." In his closing days at Chislehurst the fallen ruler declared that Haussmann had always given him good advice and wise warnings. "He was a great administrator; I did not realize his political worth soon enough."

When the new Prefect took the oath at Saint-Cloud the Emperor declared that the first task was to introduce fresh blood into the Municipal Council. They should not hurry, rejoined Haussmann who hoped to win them for his plans. The ruler produced a map on which his schemes were indicated in different colours according to a scale of priorities. Whole chapters of Haussmann's *Memoirs* are devoted to the first days of office. In addition to the Dictator he could count on Persigny, the Minister of the Interior, who received him with open arms. "This excellent man from our first contacts had felt affection for me. He valued my work in the Gironde, above all the incomparable reception of the President in October, 1852." His predecessor, who had been relieved of his post owing to his dread of lavish expenditure, had many friends on the Municipal Council including its President, Delangle, who in the course of an official welcome pointedly regretted the retirement of the former Prefect and declared his agreement with his cautious views, adding "We will support you in all measures within the resources of the city." With Piétri, Prefect of Police, the only functionary whose status limited his authority, a good deal of friction occurred. Though every Prefect was traditionally under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, Haussmann, with Persigny's assent, dealt directly with the Emperor. That some of the Ministers disliked his privileged position as well as his policy and tried to obstruct it troubled him not at all. In his own words he felt that not merely his master but all Europe was looking on as if he were a general planning a long campaign. "I spoke to my employés like a commander to his troops."

The most formidable opposition to his schemes came neither from the

Municipal Council nor from the enemies of the régime but from Ministers and above all from Baroche. The transformation of Paris necessitated wholesale destruction, and the masterful Prefect, who had little use for legal niceties, issued a decree facilitating expropriation. In 1858 he demanded fresh powers which Baroche, as President of the Council of State, declared to be unnecessary. In a long memorandum to the Emperor the conservative lawyer pleaded for full inquiry and fair compensation in every case, and complained that many expropriations had been both needless and illegal. Counter-attacking in the Council of Ministers, Haussmann charged his accuser with hostility to the whole plan which would be one of the glories of the reign. Baroche, he declares in his *Memoirs*, argued his pseudo-liberal thesis with passion, and the Emperor, who was present, took little interest in the details of administration and finance. When the Prefect's request for wider powers was refused, the kindly ruler sought to comfort him with the words "how right you were, but it was too late." The duel was renewed when he demanded the incorporation of suburban communes in the capital, and again the Emperor gave way, consoling him by admission to the Council of State.

How were these gigantic projects to be financed? The Municipal Council replied "from the annual budget," a principle which limited the advance to a snail's pace. From fresh taxation? Here the veto of the Emperor barred the way. From the State? But the State contribution was necessarily small. Only large loans, euphemistically described by the Prefect as productive expenditure, could supply the need. Old projects already approved and in some cases commenced, among them the continuation of the Rue de Rivoli, the completion of the Louvre, the improvement of the central market and the development of the Bois de Boulogne, had to be finished. The new banks, the *Crédit Mobilier* and the *Crédit Foncier*, had plenty of money to lend on moderate terms.

G. P. GOOCH

"THE POTTING SHED"

THE question of the meaning or lack of meaning, which non-religious people may find in Christian art has recently been raised anew by Graham Greene's play *The Potting Shed*. Rationalist critics, such as Kenneth Tynan, who have taken exception to its theme, on the grounds of improbability, have concentrated on one aspect of the play—the miracle by which a dead boy is restored, by prayer, to life. Miracles, they say, do not happen; or, if they do, are far too infrequent (as well as being unauthenticated) to form a satisfactory dramatic subject; they are neither representative nor truly universal. To this, however, one might reply that the highly infrequent occasion of a son marrying his mother has not led the critics to object to the theme of Sophocles' *Oedipus*. Neither does Greene insist upon the authenticated nature of his miracle. The boy, whom prayer restores to life, is apparently dead, and believed to be dead by the two persons who examine his condition, but neither of these are men of science (one is a

gardener, "almost illiterate"; and the other is a priest); and when a doctor arrives on the scene, the miracle has already taken place, so that there remains no professionally authorized proof that the boy, in fact, has ever been dead. The whole force of the play's dramatic suasion powerfully conveys Greene's intention: that we should feel the boy was dead and that he has been raised by prayer. But between a miracle emotionally presented and a miracle officially stated (with its *soi-disant* verification such as certain pious manuals offer) there is a vast difference. Because those present at the boy's "death" and "resurrection" believe their impressions of these states to be correct, and because this belief has modified their lives, the miracle—for them—as experience, is valid: it has the strength of "reality." If, through any rationalistic inclination, we do not allow for this pragmatic fact, our aesthetic experience of the play will be needlessly shallow. "A willing suspension of disbelief" and an assent to non-rational propositions are two distinct matters and not to be confused. To ask of a rationalist critic of the theatre the latter response is obviously unfair: to expect him to evince the former is what we might expect of any critic—proof of a normal appreciative power.

The element of the miraculous, which the rationalist critics have stressed in this play, is not the only religious aspect of it, and not—perhaps—the most important. The priest (the boy's uncle) who offers to God his own dearest possession in return for his nephew's life, loses that possession—namely, his faith. This faith is restored to him when the boy he saves, now grown to manhood, tells him his own side of the story, his own account of the miracle. With his memory of the incident suddenly returning, he tells his uncle how he now recalls hearing him pray over his (dead?) body. "You seemed to be a long way away," he says, "and I didn't want to come back to you; but something—somebody—pushed me." The nephew, also, is restored to well-being by a like act of absolving knowledge. Since the incident in the potting shed (in which he attempted to hang himself), he has lost all recollection of his action. His attempted suicide, his "death" and "resurrection" have remained for him a closed book. But the guilt, the oppression of what took place, have stayed with him as a mystery, crippling his power to find happiness in love. As his wife Sarah tells him, after their marriage has broken up: "You seemed always interested not in me but something else." This weight of mystery, this "something else," is clarified for, and lifted from, him when his uncle tells him the details of his past. Knowledge of his uncle's action—his intercession and "bargain" with God—act upon him like an absolution or (to change the simile) like effective analytical treatment.* Explanation of his past exorcises its shadow upon him. He now feels liberated into love, and returns to win Sarah anew.

On this score, *The Potting Shed* could be considered in the light of Hellenic ideas. If to know oneself is man's proper end, and if—as Socrates contended—memory is the parent of knowledge, then this aspect of Greene's drama requires no Christian pre-supposition. But the miraculous element—emphasized by the rationalist critics—is not, it might be held, the king-post of this play. Essentially, its theme is one of renewal through sacrifice. Charles William has given definition to a type of this redemptive process in his phrase "the doctrine of substituted suffering." The notion behind it is

* The nephew has been undergoing analysis for some little while, but his doctor has been unable to evoke the patient's buried memory.

that one may call off the suffering of another by bearing it oneself. When the priest in *The Potting Shed* is praying over his nephew's body, a spasm of constriction attacks his throat: on him is being visited the boy's agony of strangulation. Such telepathic transmission of pain is best understood in religious terms; in terms, for example, of Christ's suffering, his passion on the Cross for the sins of the world. To think, however, of Christianity as the only key to *The Potting Shed*—as the only attitude which makes sense of the play—would be quite mistaken. From the time of early and primitive religions with their cults of the "yearly slain" (Adonis, Osiris, etc.) to the moral metaphysics of the Buddha, sacrifice has played a leading role. To know of, and recognize, such patterns, in the sphere of art, is to have a sense of myth. Without our possessing this mythological sense we find that most pre-Reformation art fails to make satisfactory meaning. Much post-Reformation art requires a similar approach and *The Potting Shed* is a work of this order. Generally, the rationalist critic will act as if he shared these assumptions. Aeschylus' *Prometheus Unbound* (an archetypal drama of sacrificial love) is habitually accorded his approving attention. But sometimes, when the religious world-picture assumed by the drama in question is Christian, the rationalist critic loses detachment. He forgets to suspend his belief in disbelief, and takes for his text not drama but faith. Is he not, in this, confounding his office?

DEREK STANFORD

METHODISM AND EPISCOPACY

THE Anglican and Methodist Churches have entered into discussions with a view to closer union. The Methodist Church is urged to "take Episcopacy into its system" to provide a basis of union but Methodists could assert that, with power and authority residing in an elected Conference the wisdom of its effective system of Church government has been proved through two centuries. In inter-church discussions the Methodist Historical tradition deserves valuation. It began with John Wesley, a priest of the Anglican Church, when he assumed the right to ordain ministers for work among American Methodists after efforts to provide an Anglican ordained ministry had failed. His action was the start of a separate Methodist Church.

One result of the Civil War was that American people were denied a ministry to administer the sacraments and care for their spiritual needs. The plight of those who had joined the Methodist Society, but who had received sacraments from Anglican clergy, was represented to Wesley by Francis Asbury, one of Wesley's preachers in America; for though Wesley lived in England he was the acknowledged Father in God of all American Methodists. He had a personal knowledge of America gained from his appointment to Georgia as missionary in 1735.

After the Civil War when Anglican ordained clergy were withdrawn, and there being no Bishop in America, John Wesley ordained preachers for the American work, but only after the Bishop of London had refused his request

for the ordination of a Methodist schoolmaster in 1780. The historic Methodist ordination ceremony took place at No. 6 Dighton Street, Bristol, the home of Mr. Castleman, at four in the morning on September 1, 1784, when Wesley, assisted by two Presbyters of the Church of England, James Creighton and Thomas Coke ordained as deacons Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vassey, lay preachers, for work in America. The next day at the same early morning hour, again assisted by Creighton and Coke, the two Deacons Wesley ordained Elders. Then, assisted by the newly ordained Elders, Whatcoat and Vassey and Creighton, Wesley consecrated Dr. Coke as Superintendent, or Bishop, to American Methodists giving him authority to supply the need of ordained men in America. There is no other interpretation than that Coke was set apart to the office of Bishop and that act brought into being the American Methodist Episcopacy and the virtual separation into a Church of world Methodism since ordination did mean separation from the Church of England. Conversations towards re-union must start there and go forward. There is no going back. What has been done must remain done. The results that followed indicate the rightness of Wesley's action. The setting apart of Coke was the beginning of other ordinations. Coke ordained Asbury in America at Baltimore in December, 1784, first as Deacon, then Elder, and lastly Superintendent. Between the office of Superintendent and Bishop there is a parallel, both having been charged with the responsibility of finding men for the proclamation of the gospel, and both visiting as often as possible or convenient the people of which he has charge using the best men available for their spiritual oversight. The concern was with the ministry of the Word and the Sacraments. The challenge of the Church and the needs of people came from America, but following Wesley's ordinations for America came the needs of Scotland. Lay Preachers were ordained for the work among Methodists in Scotland and finally, for the English work in 1789. The bold move of Wesley resulted from a mature mind. His knowledge of Church history and traditions is not doubted and he was convinced that what he had done had both the authority of Scripture and sanction of Church tradition.

So convinced was Wesley that he had the authority of the Primitive Church that he used the Ordinals of the Church with but slight alterations. He revised the Liturgy for use in America, the proof sheets of which Coke took with him and which were published in America as "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in the United States of America." In this revised Book of Offices was the ordinal, "Form and Manner of the Making of Deacons, the Ordering of Priests and the Consecration of Bishops." If Wesley did not intend this Form to be used in America why did he send it for publication? Two other documents Coke took with him to America, his Ordination Certificate and a Letter from Wesley addressed to the American Methodists explaining the step he had taken. These are important foundation documents of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, too lengthy to be given here in full but may be found in the Standard Edition of *Journal of John Wesley* (Vol. VII page 16) and Standard Edition of the *Letters of John Wesley* (Vol. VII page 238). In the Ordination certificate, dated September 2, 1784, after a statement that the need of American Methodists was being met, Wesley wrote, "Know all men that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart . . . as a Superintendent, by the imposition of my hands and prayer (being assisted by other

ordained ministers), Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, a Presbyterian of the Church of England." There is no doubt that in Wesley's judgment Coke was Bishop.

In the letter to the American brethren he said he was convinced that Bishop and Presbyterian were of the same order having the same right to ordain, and as America was without a ministry because of its separation from England he was at liberty to ordain men and, therefore, appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury joint Superintendents over the Brethren in America. He took full responsibility for his action, not having consulted his brother Charles. John defended the rightness of his action, convinced this bold step was not at variance with Scripture. His research, helped by two writers, Bishop Stillingfleet and Lord King, led him to believe there was no particular form of Church government enjoined by Scripture while other Churchmen shared his opinion of the right to ordain. For the usages of the Primitive Church Wesley had great respect, as also for the form of Government of the Church of England, and from which he would not easily depart. It is not now a question of whether he departed from the rule of Scripture or Church usages but whether he expressed the mind of God in meeting the American challenge despite the fact his action inevitably meant the separation of the Methodist society from the Church of England. There was a clarity in his own mind that leaves no doubt of his guidance. "Being now clear in my own mind," reads the Journal entry for September 1, 1784, "I took a step which I had long weighed in my mind" and so far did he consider it to be from the rule of Scripture and good Church Government, that the following March, writing to Barnabas Thomas, he said he remained as "firmly attached" to the Church of England as ever and knew himself to be "as real a Christian Bishop as the Archbishop of Canterbury." His claim, two years before his death, to live and die a member of the Church of England, and "none who regard my judgment or advice will separate from it" is frequently quoted by friends and opponents, by the Church of England he meant the body of those who faithfully held the doctrines taught in the Book of Common Prayer and among whom the Gospel was preached and the sacraments administered. A company of people drawing its life from the Prayer Book but not necessarily bound by Canon Law. Though Wesley was convinced he had a right to depart from the law and discipline of the Church of England in certain cases there is no doubt of his affection for, and attachment to, the Anglican Church in which he had been reared. His appeal to those Americans who desired to remain with him was they should also "adhere to the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church of England."

Though Wesley had no desire for either his Society or his preachers to cultivate a life separate from the Anglican Church, the unfolding of events drove the Methodist people from the fold of their mother church. Despite Wesley's claim that Methodists were loyal members of the Church of England they were compelled to declare themselves Protestant Dissenters. Separation became a live issue and bound with it the validity of Field Preaching. Legally the parish priest was entrusted with the spiritual charge of the people and those who wished to declare their independence of the parish priest could do so by registering as Dissenters under the provisions of the Toleration Act of 1689, which gave the right to Dissenting ministers to take an oath of allegiance to the King and to be granted licences to

preach. Registration as a Dissenter meant separation from the Church of England. In the passing of time it became inevitable that Wesley's Lay Preachers should register as Dissenters and thus separate from their Mother Church, though it was the intolerance of that Church that thrust out the Methodists.

Methodists uphold the wisdom and action of Wesley despite its clash with the Anglican, or any other, view of the Historic Episcopate, which, in Wesley's words was, "a fable that no man did or could prove." Most Methodists agree that Wesley broke the rule of his church in consecrating Coke, and that he claimed privileges and an authority his church had not conferred on him, and that perhaps he had no right to issue an ordination certificate bearing the words, "John Wesley, Presbyterian of the Church of England." But there is no doubt Wesley was right and for him to have done otherwise would have been a betrayal of his conscience and a denial of his call by God. At the moment he decided to ordain men for America he was a true churchman starting a movement in the Church of God that has since been vindicated by the fact that some fifteen million churchmen now claim a place in the Church Catholic living in America. An Episcopacy has arisen in America subject to the election of the people through the American General Conference. It matters little that no sanction was given by the Church of England for the ordination of ministers and the Consecration of Coke for the American Field and despite theological interpretation Wesley's action was his duty to God, "We must obey God rather than man" clearly expressed his judgment.

The Methodist Church was Wesley's creation. Its formation took place from events which were often against his own inclination, such as Field Preaching and the use of laymen, visiting prisoners, building Meeting Houses, organising instruction classes, and establishing the Conference of the People called Methodists. These people had a special affection for and pastoral relationship to their Leaders, and never among any people was there a more kindly and loved Bishop, a caring Shepherd, than Wesley. His people expected him to make provision for their spiritual needs, an expectation shared by his people in America suddenly deprived of spiritual oversight at a critical period in their development. The possibility is that had Wesley been a Roman Catholic, instead of an Anglican, Methodism today would have been a sheltered Order within the Roman Catholic Church: but such was not in the providence of God. He had an unchallenged right to endow Coke with the oversight of the Methodists in America, he had an uncontested responsibility to provide for the Methodists in the United Kingdom an ordained ministry. The first impact on the universal Church of Coke's Consecration was the separation of the American Methodist Episcopal Church from the Church of England, an event deplored by Charles Wesley, but there were others who approved. It is significant that no charge of heresy was ever brought against Wesley and that no disciplinary action was preferred against him for breaking the rules of his church. Was this because he was held in great reverence by the people, or that there were those on the bench of Bishops relieved that someone had done what they dared not do in making provision for the spiritual oversight of the American people?

In all conversations toward the re-union of the Methodist and Anglican Churches let fair and full appreciation and understanding be given to the

important historical event that provided an ordained ministry within Methodism though the ultimate end may be nothing more than a federation of the Churches falling short of organic union.

FREDERICK PILKINGTON.

THE "RETURN TO THE HOMELAND DRIVE"

IN spite of recent Communist denials, efforts to induce East European and other émigrés to return to their homelands is an ever-active front in the East-West struggle. Albanian, Polish and Czech refugees in many foreign countries report that approaches are being made to them in this vein with increasing frequency. Rumania and Czechoslovakia have both proclaimed amnesties for "citizens and former citizens living abroad," who might agree to take up life in their communized countries again. The Czech announcement, indicating that all would be forgiven and forgotten, appealed to persons who, "under the influence of hostile propaganda left the Republic without permission" to come back. Some actually did so. A sombre note was later struck from Prague, when the press there announced that all returnees under the amnesty had "unanimously volunteered for work in the mining industry: irrespective of their previous employment and training." Such contrition is viewed by most former Red citizens as rather noteworthy. A Catholic priest who fled from the post-war régime in Czechoslovakia (he remains anonymous because he still has friends in jail there) denounced Prague's efforts to shake hands with her opponents as a classical trap. Nobody who returns, he says, is actually prosecuted for "criminal desertion." To this extent the amnesty holds good. But, without exception, returned refugees have been sentenced under the law dealing with "traitors and saboteurs." Russian propaganda aimed at reclaiming former nationals has recently reached what seems its highest point to date, and appears to be setting the tone for the appeals from the other People's Democracies. The latest development is the invitation to Prince Obolensky to revisit his homeland.

The first Hungarian offer of free pardons was issued in April, 1955, while Bulgaria relaxed the penalties for escapees as far back as November, 1953. Immunity was promised to all who returned within 12 months. Western press reports show that a fair number of pre-First World War refugees have actually returned, but it seems clear that the truants most sought by the Communist countries were those who fled abroad much more recently, and the last offer was extended in November, 1954, for a further year. Bulgarian Communist law prescribes the death penalty for refugees and émigrés, plus collective responsibility of friends and relatives of the guilty. Considered capital offenders, too, are those who had left Bulgaria even before Communism gained control, and who may now refuse to return. Escapes continued from the countries in question while the amnesties were actually in progress. As to what might happen to those who fled under these circumstances, should they return, is not stated. In addition to forgive-and-forget

offers (whose terms have frequently been published as advertisements in the Western press) personal blackmail, including threats of reprisals against relations at home, is often reported. East Germany has a *Committee for Return to the Homeland*, said to consist of returned Russian émigrés, which was established in March, 1955. The Communist-controlled Democratic Republic of (East) Germany promises full restoration of property and legal rights to all those who come home. Refugees living in the West, however, have told me that there has been no suspension of the significant Paragraph 1 (A), Article 58, of the Soviet Penal Code. This prescribes shooting and confiscation of property for anyone found guilty of flight abroad. The minimum penalty for proved attempted escape is 10 years' imprisonment. It has been learned through repatriated German war prisoners that some former Russian citizens who actually did come back of their own free will were summarily exiled to the Vorkuta forced-labour camps of the Russian Arctic.

Committees of exiles living in the non-Communist world are unanimous in denouncing the Return Home campaigns. A conference of 14 émigré groups from the USSR met at Bad Godesberg to consider the question, and attacked the "false promises and terror methods used by the Soviets to lure refugees back to their Red-dominated homelands." There seems little doubt that the present Russian régime is apprehensive of the activities of exile organizations. According to the Bad Godesberg statement, the Soviets are extremely anxious to stem a growing desire "for freedom by our people, both secretly at home, and through outside exile groups." It appears in any case likely, if we are to credit any of very many reported instances, that many exiles have been induced to recross the Iron Curtain by extremely unorthodox means. Quite a number of such cases have been reported at length in the Western press, while grave suspicion exists in other cases of unexplained disappearances.

Alexander Svetov, a prominent Russian exile and churchman, has told how his brother was sent from Russia to Berlin with orders to induce him to return home or become a Soviet agent in West Berlin. When he refused, his brother went back to Eastern Germany, after saying that reprisals would now undoubtedly be taken against the remaining members of their family in Russia. A Czech refugee in Valka Camp, at Nuremberg, read the amnesty offer and at once wrote to his mother in Czechoslovakia that he felt that he could now freely return home. The reply was that she would of course be overjoyed to see him after five years of exile. But she continued: "I only fear that perhaps we shall have to part again, and you will have to suffer here as much as you have suffered there . . ." She concluded, as if to make the point completely unequivocal, that she would then, however, be able to visit him from time to time, perhaps to take him food. Hungarian refugees who met not long ago at Wels in Austria characterized the Budapest régime's last amnesty announcement as a "Moscow-directed attempt to lure escapees back into Communist control." They declared that it "reveals the depth of Communist embarrassment over the rising tide of men and women who have fled to freedom." A young father who escaped with his wife and two children two years ago said that there was no Hungarian refugee "who, after having crossed the barbed-wire fence, would now return freely to their rule of oppression and slavery." These stories could be repeated again and again.

if one were to cite any number of the accounts given by Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Albanians and people from the other Communist countries. They seem, in spite of the very vehement language in which they are couched, to add up to something significant.

China, too, has been quick in trying to enlist the many millions of overseas Chinese into the service of the new order. As long ago as 1953 I found a group of Chinese friends excitedly discussing two letters which they had received from relations at home. Painting a picture of plenty and freedom, of infinite scope for youth, these missives came from two towns many hundreds of miles apart. When the enthusiasm died down a little in the face of the practical difficulties of raising the fares home, one of them noticed that both letters were in almost identical wording. Only one of these exiles returned to China. After a period of complete silence, a letter from him reached Hong Kong. He had been arrested as soon as he landed in China and was in a prison camp.

SAYED EL HASHIMI.

THE LAUGHING GULL

ONE of the compensations for snow and the restrictions caused by cold winter weather is that one is able to watch blackheaded gulls from almost any window—from a flat in a big city or a country cottage. Recently my garden has been invaded by these gulls, and the greedy starlings have not had it all their own way with the tit-bits and bread crusts I throw out for the birds in hard weather. The time has come when we can no longer look on the blackheaded gull as a "seashore bird". Every year this most interesting and lovely bird seems to distribute itself more widely over the whole country. Fishermen along our coast line, as well as farmers and agriculturists far inland and miles away from the roar of the sea, are sure to come on this species of gull that has a buoyant and tern-like flight. Blackheaded gulls flap their wings more energetically than the lazy wing beat we associate with other gulls. The hard winters of 1890 and 1895 first brought large numbers of these gulls up the rivers from the sea, and since then there has been a gradual transition from the coast to big towns, and further still to the ploughed lands far inland.

It used to be said that gulls flying inland denoted the coming of stormy weather at sea, but the old belief is surely discredited by the blackheaded gulls. Many of their breeding places are on the marshes, near inland meres, on the islands of lakes and high up on the moors. These gulls have been seen feeding in fields 50 miles from the sea, and during the summer months one rarely sees these birds on the coast. Just as the female blackbird is "brown," the blackheaded gull would be far more accurately described as "brownheaded gull," and even the coffee-coloured mask that comes right down over the face cannot be used as a distinguishing feature throughout the year. The mantle is only taken on in the nuptial period and breeding season. It is by this that the young recognise their parents when they are flocked with other gulls of various species. Most of the

blackheaded gulls "take off their caps" in August. The gulls that are invading our gardens at the present time only have dark blotches on the white face by the ear-coverts and near the eye. In the spring it is quite easy to mistake the "Little gull" for the blackheaded species, but the former is considerably smaller and the head-cap is truly jet black at this time of the year. In flight the "Little gull" shows a dark grey beneath the outstretched wings, whereas the under surfaces of the wings of the blackheaded gulls are a pearly-grey or blue. Though classed as voracious scavengers, together with the six other species of gull that breed in England, the bright red bill of the blackheaded gull is less powerful, and lacks the fierce predatory appearance of the Blackbacked gull and Glaucous gull—feathered pirates of the seas.

It is impossible to state specifically the diet of gulls, for they are practically omnivorous and their feeding habits vary widely. Almost any edible garbage is consumed as well as young birds and mammals, eggs, plants, insects and, of course, fish. Recent stomach examinations of blackheaded gulls have shown that though worms and harmless insects form a part of the bird's food, 60 per cent consists of leather-jackets, wireworms and very harmful insects. An examination of pellets after a plague of crane-flies was convincing proof of the valuable part these gulls play in the control of insect pests. Even in the winter the search for insects continues in the mild spells. Quite rightly farmers have come to look on these sociable birds as great allies in the endless battle against crop-destroying insects. It is a common sight to see flocks of blackheaded gulls "shooting" down like rooks, twisting and turning before landing on the furrows. Even by the sea little can be said against the feeding habits of these gulls. They do eat a little fish but they are poor fishermen, lacking diving skill and speed under water.

When courting a mate, the male bird quaintly advances his suit by presenting the hen of his choice with succulent tit-bits, such as cockles. And at this time also there is considerable sex display both on the ground and on wing—posturing, a fluffing out of the feathers, and aerial acrobatics. As a rule the birds pair before leaving together for the breeding grounds where large and noisy colonies gather together. Naturalists in recent years have noted the interesting fact that the male bird often leaves first to select the nesting site and make preparatory arrangements. About the beginning of May a clutch of three brown and mottled eggs is laid, and both parents incubate in a strict turn and turn rota. The help that the male blackheaded gull gives in sitting is in line with the usual law of bird life. In the case of the plain-looking male, protection and concealment have been found more vital to the species than brightness of plumage. Whereas brightly coloured males in many species of birds require bright colouring to assure successful mating, often these males keep right away from family life. Both parents of the blackheaded gulls feed the newly hatched chicks, which appear covered with a fine silky down. The feeding is usually done both on land and water by regurgitation, but sometimes the male will give food to the hen to pass on to the chicks. Gradually the young birds are tempted further and further from the nest, and though in six weeks they are able to fly and fend for themselves, they continue to solicit for food by bobbing with wide open bills and "whistling."

The adult birds begin to moult in July, and by August most of them have left the breeding grounds. It is soon afterwards that we begin to see these

gulls almost everywhere and where there is food for the picking—by docks, harbours, on the shores all along the south and west coast and on inland lakes far away from the nesting site. In a recent count there were no less than 6,000 of these gulls roosting by a Somerset reservoir. The bird is so plentiful at this time of year that it is often referred to as the "common gull," a name misapplied to the Common Gull (*Larus c. canus*) which in fact is rarely seen in the summer in this country. All those concerned with the land will be pleased to hear that the graceful red-legged blackheaded gull, one of the smallest of the gull family of birds, has greatly increased here in the last half century. In the 19th century and before the Bird Protection Act of 1880 there was a time when their numbers were diminished owing to the drainage of marsh lands. These gulls, however, have proved themselves better able to adapt their way of life to modern agricultural conditions than the heron or corncrake. The garrulous cries of gulls heard against the dull boom of the breakers often strike a macabre note. But there is nothing solemn or forbidding about blackheaded gulls as they follow our tractors at plough. They are the most buoyant in the air and the most light-hearted in character of all the gulls.

Because of its cry the blackheaded gull is sometimes called "The Laughing Gull." Old farm workers with a discerning eye on the insect-feeding habit of these gulls and their way of flight call them Peewit Gulls—perhaps the best name of all.

R. H. FERRY.

RACE PROBLEMS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

POLICE fired on a crowd of natives demonstrating against rent increases at Kabushi, Northern Rhodesia, recently (April 10). How much do we know of what is happening there? Problems arising from the interaction of the black and white populations in Northern Rhodesia are confined almost wholly to the copperbelt area of the North. This is due to the fact that the progress of Northern Rhodesia, which in terms of investment is developing faster than any other part of the colonial empire, is dependent entirely on the copper mining activities which form 96 per cent of the total exports and hence a large proportion of the colony's income. The advancement of Northern Rhodesia is thus bound up with the advance of the copper mines, and the development of the copper mines is bound up with the mixed labour problem. Hence a solution of the existing racial difficulties is essential. It is important not only to Northern Rhodesia but also to the future of Central African Federation and to the industry of Great Britain which receives a large proportion of its copper from the copperbelt.

Indecision characterises the present Afro-European relationship. In different parts of Africa under European control different policies are being pursued. In West Africa majority native rule is the ultimate aim. In East Africa black supremacy is not admitted and in the Union of South Africa the attainment of white supremacy is the "divine mission" of the Nation-

alists. None of these extremes is desired in Northern Rhodesia. Mr. Strijdom's declaration that "there is no half-way house between domination and equality" is not accepted. The situation also differs greatly from that in South Africa because there is no "poor white" problem, although the fear of such a state of affairs no doubt plays its part in the Europeans' attitude. Also the white population is not permanent. Many of the workers are on short term contracts and are continually being replaced by new arrivals. Their real homes and affections are in their home countries where their children are being educated, and where they return for periods of leave. Fortunately race relations are not affected as they are in the Union by political or social theories. There is thus no colour bar as understood in the Union. What does exist is an economic colour bar, and at present the solution of its difficulties is apparently as difficult as the more complete colour bar of the Union.

Mining began in 1930. The natives were then living at the same stage of culture as the inhabitants of pre-Roman Britain. In Northern Rhodesia as a whole the Europeans are now outnumbered 120:1 and even in the mines themselves they are in a minority with 6,000 whites and 40,000 blacks employed. The problems of helping a backward society to attain a better standard of living both morally and materially (which is the Europeans' declared policy and justification for being in Africa at all) have been all the greater in Central Africa because the Africans had no strong cultural or religious background. The Dutch in Indonesia took 300 years and the British in India 200 years before it could be claimed that their aims had been effectively implemented, and they had the advantage of dealing with peoples who had a particularly strong cultural tradition in the first place. Nevertheless within 50 years the Africans have advanced from a primitive cultural level to participation in a highly organized modern industry. It is the very speed of this advance and the fear lest it should continue and finally swamp the whites who first made it possible that has occasioned the present situation.

Four conflicting aims are held by the four interested parties. The Government and the Colonial Office are "agreed on the fundamental principle of African advancement." The Africans themselves are pressing for higher pay while the European Union insists on equal pay for equal work. This is rejected by the employers who say that if an African is promoted to a job previously done by a European he should be paid in relation to the African wage structure, not the European.

All parties tacitly agree to the Government assertion of the principle of advancement, but the European workers have maintained a policy of "the rate for the job" fearing that otherwise as Africans become able to undertake the jobs now done by Europeans the whites would be displaced by cheaper black labour. But equal pay means also equal leave, equal pensions and equal housing facilities. On this basis the employers would always prefer the European worker since they have declared that no European should be displaced by an African; there is no hope at all of African advancement on these conditions. The employers however refuse to pay the African the same rate as the European. To do so would disrupt the whole economic system of Northern Rhodesia by offering higher wages than the railways and farms. The high wages paid to European employees are largely due not only to the

special skills needed for the job but rather as compensation for having to leave their native country, to help in educating their children and possibly running two homes. This was the reason why even unskilled jobs done by whites when the mines first began operations were paid at a much higher rate than similar jobs in England. The African has none of these burdens, and for him to want a similar rate to the white employee is unreasonable.

That is the situation today. The European Union was formed in 1936. In 1940 disturbances among Africans on the copperbelt for higher wages led to a Royal Commission. No advance was made during the war in the financial status of the Africans, but they became more skilled and their claims more persistent. They were then still unorganized. The employers had refused to allow Africans into the European Union. However in 1949 they formed their own African Union. In 1952 strikes by Africans led to the granting of pay increases but in spite of this the present minimum wage paid to a white worker is 500 per cent more than the maximum paid to an African. One promising suggestion is that some European jobs be split up into a number of African jobs; this has provoked threats of strike action by the African Union as it limits the Africans' advancement into bigger jobs.

A possible solution would be to adopt the plan which the Belgian authorities follow successfully in the Congo. There the African is paid according to a valuation of the worth of his job as if it were done by a Belgian at home. An efficiency factor is added or subtracted from this amount according to the skill of the African. This avoids paying high wages which would be out of all proportion to the native economy and also recognises the advancing skill of the African. If implemented in Northern Rhodesia it would acknowledge the Colonial Office's policy of African advancement. The employers would find it reasonable as it would maintain a balance with the existing African wage structure. But again it contradicts the rate for the job principle of the European Union which apparently fears that a few Africans—and it cannot be more than a few—will become so skilled as to displace some Europeans from top jobs.

The position is therefore critical, not only to Northern Rhodesia but also to other parts of Africa because of the repercussions which failure to reach an agreement might set off. The chairman of the Anglo-Rhodesian Companies put forward the employers' attitude when he stated, "We hold that whatever is done is best done slowly" to allow time for the "necessary human and economic adjustments." But is this slowness in part merely an excuse for fear? In fact the actual number of Africans involved in any immediate advancement is small. It is said that only 50—100 jobs could be taken over immediately at the present state of African skills. Before African advancement could have any practical application beyond this number a scheme of apprenticeship is needed to train Africans whilst paying them at a lower rate until they are able to command skills needed for more advanced posts. This has actually been proposed by the African Union itself, but the employers have not responded.

It is well to remember that once lost native confidence in and respect for their European employers will not be easily regained. The problems are not insurmountable; the parties have the initial advantage that the Northern Rhodesian situation is uncomplicated by the strong racial prejudices, based on colour alone, that are rife in the Union of South Africa. The problems

of Northern Rhodesian race relationships are based mainly on economic considerations. Of course economic inferiority can entail colour prejudice, but luckily this does not appear to have occurred in Northern Rhodesia yet. Hence the difficulties should and must be solved soon if more complicated and dangerous situations are not to develop.

BRIAN COOPER.

EDWARD CARPENTER: THE ENGLISH WHITMAN

STUDENTS of literature and historians of Socialism apart, few people today seem to have any knowledge of Edward Carpenter. Yet at the turn of the century this neglected author was famous. There is, of course, nothing unique in this fall from notability to obscurity and sooner or later the wheel of fashion turns full circle and the neglected author is rediscovered by a later generation. This has not yet happened in the case of Edward Carpenter, but a recent study of his best and most successful book *Towards Democracy* convinces me that it will. What are the facts about this most gentle and English of revolutionaries, and what is his significance for us today? The greater part of his active life was spent in the Derbyshire hamlet of Millthorpe where he carried on a market-gardening business, and where he formed the nucleus of a strangely-assorted but happy little community, carrying the socialism he preached into successful small-scale practice. Descended from a well-known Naval family, he was born in 1844 at Brighton where he attended Brighton School before going up to Trinity Hall, Cambridge. A successful academic career led to a Fellowship of his college and Carpenter took Holy Orders. It was not long however before he tired of serving in a Church he did not wholly agree with and he took the opportunity of associating himself with the newly founded Cambridge University Extension Movement on whose behalf he toured the industrial Midlands and the North as a lecturer on Science and the Arts. He was soon noted too as a speaker and publicist for left-wing political causes.

Edward Carpenter was not a physically robust man and ill-health eventually compelled him to give up these peripatetic activities and he used an inheritance to purchase the Millthorpe property. He had already resigned his orders. Apart from a number of trips abroad he remained in the North Midlands for the better part of 40 years, writing most of his more celebrated books there. *Towards Democracy*, on which I suspect rests the chief hope of Carpenter's rediscovery, was one of the first fruits of his new mode of life. Written in the course of some 25 years (the completed edition appeared in 1905), it is a notable achievement from any viewpoint, and in striking contrast to anything else in the poetry of that time. Carpenter was a disciple of Whitman, and like that passionate American poet was a practitioner of a very free and malleable verse-form, bordering at its worst upon chopped-up prose, but at its best rising to an almost Biblical eloquence and beauty. On a visit to America in 1877 he met Whitman whose work had fanned his hitherto small, and perhaps fragile, talent into a much greater achievement.

In a note on *Towards Democracy* he wrote: "I met with William Rossetti's little selection from *Leaves of Grass* in 1869 or 1870, and read that and the original editions continuously for 10 years. I never met with any other book (with the exception perhaps of Beethoven's Sonatas) which I could read and re-read as I could this one. I find it difficult to imagine what my life would have been without it. *Leaves of Grass* filtered and fibred my blood." The greatest difficulty facing the vers-librist is that of using a free, irregular line length and stanzaic structure without at the same time lapsing into prosaic and flabby language. It is a very difficult type of poetry to write successfully and Carpenter was a skilled performer on this literary tight-rope. Possibly only D. H. Lawrence was as successful in the medium in recent times. For all its superficial resemblance to *Leaves of Grass*, *Towards Democracy* has many points of difference from it. Whitman's is a rhetorical, masculine genius, Carpenter's more meditative, tender and feminine. Both writers however are didactic, though each has his lyrical moments, and both are as much prophets as poets; Whitman the prophet of a rugged individualism, Carpenter of an eclectic, mystical Socialism.

As a political thinker Carpenter was decidedly left of centre and, himself a pioneer of Adult education, believed profoundly in the educability of man. The capacity for reason and right judgment was, he thought, as likely to reside in the artisan as in the intellectual or the aristocrat. His socialism was Tolstoyan rather than Marxist; the socialism of brotherly love rather than that of envy and revolt. He believed in the essential and natural goodness of men and was a Pelagian rather than an Augustinian in his estimate of human nature. Throw off the injustices and inequalities which disgrace English society, he taught, appeal to that of God in everyman, and the human spirit will bloom in sweetness and light. This optimistic philosophy springs from an over-simplified and innocent set of beliefs which finds its ultimate expression in Tolstoy's Christian Anarchism. It is a view which we are compelled to respect for the sincerity with which it was, and still is, held. It is not a wholly realistic one. Freedom from want is not in itself enough to produce the earthly paradise, nor does universal education produce a nation of philosophers. *Video meliora, proboque; deteriora sequor*. The Virgilian tag remains, as Aldous Huxley reminds us, the epitaph of all Utopias based upon a too rosy opinion of the spiritual resources of ordinary men. The Welfare State has resulted in a great deal of negative freedom, but positive freedom, the freedom to realize the noblest aspirations of man, is a rare thing still. For all our great material progress we are no nearer to a state of grace and we are more difficult to educate than Carpenter recognized. Not that he quite naively believed that social reform alone would suffice.

*Except the Lord build the house they labour
in vain who build it.*

*In vain millions of yards of calico and miles of
lacework turned out per annum;*

*In vain a people well-clad in machine-made
cloth and hosiery;*

In vain a flourishing foreign trade.

But though he saw the need of spiritual renewal he never makes us feel that

he knew how to accomplish it against the inertia of unregenerate human nature.

Nevertheless Carpenter's is not a voice to be ignored. He speaks with the unmistakable authority of the genuine poet. In an age of material progress and spiritual stagnation he voices memorably the eternal verities of religion, and is right in his insistence on the need for spiritual values to inspire political action of a kind we may describe as liberal in the wider sense of that term. Not a denominational Christian, he is nevertheless a genuine mystic who could see with Blake

*A world in a grain of sand
And eternity in an hour.*

He preaches memorably and beautifully the immanence of God in His creation.

*Do not recklessly spill the waters of your mind
in this direction and that, lest you become like a
spring lost and dissipated in the desert.*

*But draw them together into a little compass
and hold them still, so still;*

*And let them become clear, so clear—so
limpid, so mirror-like;*

*At last the mountains and the sky shall glass
themselves in a peaceful beauty,*

*And the antelope shall descend to drink,
and to gaze at his reflected image, and the
lion to quench his thirst,*

*And Love himself shall come and bend over,
And catch his own likeness in you.*

The combination of a vivid mystical insight with a deep and passionate concern for human happiness is not a common one and the world we live in has need of a philosophy comprehensive enough to embrace the contemplation of divinity as well as the dynamic of a libertarianism based upon a respect for, and love of, the soul of man. And this is what Edward Carpenter, at his best, offers us. It is worthy of remembrance.

FREDERIC VANSON

THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

THE quiet devotion, dignity and courage of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has made it one of the outstanding characteristics of Canadian national life. It is indeed a traditional part of Canada, because during the past 80 years or so it has played a decisive part in shaping Canada's history. It was originally formed to maintain law and order in the vast territories lying beyond the western boundaries of Ontario, and is today

still the supreme authority in the North-West Territories and the Yukon, where it carries out a variety of activities. The characteristics of RCMP itself has made it the best known and most admired police force in the world, while its scarlet and gold horsemen are attractive to both young and old.

The RCMP is the only federal police force in Canada, and it has many and varied functions because of the division of responsibility between the 10 provincial legislatures and the federal authority in Ottawa. The Force has 17 divisions with a uniform strength of 4,164 officers and men, aided by 1,459 special constables, civil servants and civilian employees, which are directed and co-ordinated from the general headquarters in the capital. When the Federal Government was first formed soon after the passing of the British North America Act of 1867, it acquired vast and potentially rich areas under its control stretching from Red River Valley to the Rockies and from the United States to the forests of northern Saskatchewan. This vast region could not be developed until the Federal Government had asserted its authority and enforced law and order. Thus in 1873, a federal police force, then called the North-West Mounted Police, was organised to control regions ceded by the Hudson's Bay Company, which led eventually to bringing a peaceful settlement of Western Canada at the turn of the century, because of the tactful manner in which the Mounted Police made law-abiding citizens of both Indians and white men. Quebec and Ontario maintained their own police forces, but the other provinces entered into agreements with the Federal Government whereby the federal force could be hired on terms of annual payment to enforce the Criminal Code and provincial statutes. As the years passed the area patrolled by the NWMP expanded and by 1904 it extended from the International Boundary to the Arctic Ocean and from Hudson Bay to the Alaskan border.

Although the NWMP was modelled partly on the Royal Irish Constabulary and partly on one of the systems followed in India, it followed the Army in dress and interior economic as it operated as a military body. However, Sir John A. MacDonald, the Prime Minister at that time, wanted a plainer form of uniform to suit the rigours of the country. But as the scarlet tunics of Queen Victoria's soldiers, who had been stationed in the West, won the admiration of the Indians, it was decided to retain the red coat as a badge of friendly authority. The first time the NWMP received world recognition was when a contingent rode in London at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, and in 1904 King Edward VII honoured the Force by bestowing the prefix "Royal." In these days the Force carried out its over several thousand square miles on horseback, in dogsleds, canoes and boats. In 1918, the RNWMP became responsible for law and order for the whole of Canada west of Port Arthur and Fort William, and in 1920 its jurisdiction was extended to cover the entire country, when its headquarters were transferred from Regina to Ottawa, and it was renamed the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. At the same time, aeroplanes came into use and the Force entered a new territory east of Hudson Bay. In 1924 Arctic patrols penetrated deep into the Eskimo territory. The next most important exploration was made by the RCMP schooner, "St. Roch," when forcing the North-West Passage in 1942. It took 28 months to go from Vancouver to Halifax. The RCMP continue to extend the frontiers, but most pioneering is now over.

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The RCMP has its own Marine Section and its own Aviation Section, which were operated by the Canadian Armed Forces during the last war. At the outbreak of the war the Marine Section had only 209 officers and men and some 33 ships and boats, but afterwards eight minesweepers, four motor launches and 13 small patrol vessels were added to the division, which now polices the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and some inland waters. The Aviation Section, re-formed in 1946, has increased the efficiency of the Force, because it enables a more rigid control to be carried out over thinly populated areas, and is used for transporting food, the injured and prisoners over vast isolated distances. During the war, the RCMP also provided a Provost Company to the armed forces, which assisted with the policing of the forces and special investigations. It also co-operated with the Allied Military Government in occupied countries with the re-organization and direction of civilian police systems, fire departments and civil defence. The major war-time task of the RCMP was to safeguard essential industries against sabotage and to engage in counter-espionage work. For this purpose it formed a Reserve of specially engaged personnel, which is now an important part of the Force. This Reserve is an official unit in which part-time workers have the rank of constable only.

Today the RCMP has under its control an area as large as the whole of Europe, and has an extensive radio network across Canada to which are connected all its ships and aircraft, so that former geographical obstacles which hindered the work of the Force have now been overcome. Although the character of the Force has somewhat changed since its formation, its attributions still reflects much of the glamour of the frontier through its northern and other far distant detachments. Its assignments range from Arctic patrolling and the supervision of Eskimos to ordinary prevention work concerning the contraband of narcotic drugs, counterfeiting, illicit distilling, identification and classification of criminals. Moreover, it protects public buildings, reports on migratory birds, furbearing animals and hunting out of season, participates in the application of customs and excise laws and, to a small extent, of immigration regulations. It investigates naturalization papers and passports, makes enquiries on applications for civil positions, enforces statutes governing the Indians, and any other federal enactments. It is a member of the International Criminal Police Organization on behalf of Canada.

To carry out such a variety of tasks the RCMP must employ men of several types and character, but each candidate must have personal integrity, a high degree of intelligence and a sense of responsibility. Recruits are selected by an educational examination, supplemented by a psychometric test and a patterned interview. An applicant must be a Canadian citizen, or a British subject, between the ages of 18 and 30, unmarried, physically fit, at least 5 ft. 8 in. in height, and able to speak, read and write either English or French. Members cannot marry until they have completed five years of service, after which they may be granted permission to marry by the Commissioner, provided they are 24 years of age, free from debt and have \$1,200 in cash or convertible assets. As the enlistment period is five years, the men must re-enlist at the end of each five years to become eligible for a life pension which is granted under the provisions of the RCMP Act. A recruit has six months' initial training in all the branches of police

work including horsemanship. Although riding is now only a very minor part of the actual police work, it forms an important part of the training because it helps to develop a recruit's physical culture and character. Even after the recruitment period the Personnel Branch continues to interview the men periodically throughout their career as policemen. The Force has a wide ranged educational scheme, and the Canadian Police Colleges at Regina and Ottawa are equipped with modern scientific apparatus. There is a graduate course in advance police work and refresher courses are available to selected members of RCMP of all ranks, and to members of other Canadian police forces and organized police forces abroad. "Maintiens le droit" is the motto of the RCMP and never throughout its history has it failed to live up to this motto, which has made it one of Canada's proudest possessions. Despite the modern techniques introduced in police work during recent years it still carries out its various tasks in a quiet, unassuming way for which it is respected and admired by all law-abiding citizens of all ages.

E. H. RAWLINGS.

CHINESE SECRET SOCIETIES

THE frightening renaissance of Chinese Secret Societies in South-East Asia has become a standing headline news in recent years. Family cohesion was the sanctuary of the Chinese people against the spasmodic waves of tyranny and chaos all throughout their chequered history. It gave them dignity, serenity, even a measure of happiness. However, in the course of the centuries the people often sought to enhance their personal position by creating, in addition to their natural families, artificial yet in many ways only too real families for themselves. These were the organizations which proved to be usually less tender, but frequently a great deal more effective in fostering the personal interests of their members than the ordinary families—commonly known as "secret societies."

The idea of making the secret society the "super-family" of the member was expressed by the horrifying rite at the initiation ceremony. The new candidate had to drink from a cup containing water and drops of blood from the wrists of all those present. While secret societies had been active in ancient India and were to spread all the way to Japan, the Chinese national character seems to have provided the most fertile ground for their flourishing. While the Chinese secret societies have or had certain traits in common with the Freemasons in the West, they have always been distinctly Chinese in their general character. Some claim their ancestry back to the reign of the former Han dynasty, 206 B.C.—A.D. 23. It was in the thirteenth century, under the Sung dynasty, that the best known secret society of old China, named after the "White Lotus," emerged and reached prominence by fighting the Mongols and their local protégés. The end of the seventeenth century witnessed the development of the ancestor of the modern "Triad" societies. Five Buddhist monks, so the story goes, escaped the ire of Emperor K'ang Hsi, whose soldiers had destroyed their monastery and killed

their brother monks. They founded the *Sam Hap Hoey*, or the "Three United" Society,"—hence "Triad"!—in order to avenge the death of their brethren and to overthrow the hated Manchu dynasty. With the choice of the name the valiant monks meant to express their profound belief in the harmony of the "three great powers" of the universe, Heaven, Earth and Man. The organization expanded steadily, became also known under the names of "Three Dots," "Heaven and Earth" and the "Pair of Daggers" Society, and was to play a leading part in a number of riots throughout the centuries. The remainder of the old "White Lotus" may have amalgamated with the new "Triad" Society. The "Boxer Rebellion" in 1899-1900 was also a secret society affair. The collective name of the societies which took part in the uprising, "Righteous Harmony Fists," hence "Boxer" suggests that they had at least a kinship with the Triad, the staunch believer in the "righteous harmony" between heaven, earth and man. In true secret society fashion the riots had probably begun aiming at the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty but were turned by the ruthlessly clever old Empress Tz'u Hsi into an anti-Christian and anti-foreign terror.

Why did the secret societies seek to combine the pursuit of individual self-interest with political aspirations? The answer appears to be simple. Most members had a chip on their shoulder, people dissatisfied with the existing order of things. That dissatisfaction had driven them to find additional opportunity or security within the ranks of the clandestine elements. Those who were concerned with feathering their own nests discovered that a political label could give their association more weight and prestige. Those, on the other hand, whose genuine interest lay in public affairs found that the opportunist self-seekers might on occasion serve as useful allies. Even if we assumed with Leon Comber, a noted expert on the subject, that "Chinese secret societies are just as powerful in China today as they ever were, in spite of a purge carried out against them by the Communist authorities," we cannot get any news about their activities. It is more than likely that some of the drastic measures periodically announced in the new China against "anti-state" elements are directed at the members of the "Triad," an organization well accustomed to illegality and persecution. The secret societies had probably been aiding the recently uncovered American ring of smugglers. A powerful organization with wide ramifications brought a large number of illegal Chinese immigrants from Asia to California with the aid of forged documents. Even if one such organization has been rounded up, nobody may know for certain whether others do not continue with the sinister operations. Some people are inclined to confuse the activities of the secret societies with those of the Communist underground movements within the Chinatowns of South-East Asia. Generally speaking they are fiercely anti-Communist, because the Communists are violently opposed to all secret societies.

Formosa is an old theatre of secret society operations. There the "Triad Society" first emerged more or less in its present shape in connection with a revolt in 1787. Today secret society activities on the Nationalist island are somewhat similar in character to those pursued by the brother organizations in the United States. However, the human cargoes smuggled into Formosa consist mainly of young women. When, in 1949, the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek army had been evacuated to the island, two million young men were added to a population of about seven million. While the

population was to be increased by a considerable number of civilian refugees during the next few years, the "unbalance" between the sexes caused by the arrival of the army remained. This state of affairs offered a golden opportunity for the most daring and least lawful elements within the secret societies—those versed in smuggling and piracy—to combine nationalism with handsome profit. A lively contraband in girls from the Chinese mainland began with the double purpose of helping individuals anxious to escape from Communist domination and of providing wives and sweethearts for the Generalissimo's loyal warriors. Whether the People's Democratic authorities, who could not possibly have overlooked such humming activities on and around their own territories, have used the exodus to plant Communist spies among the escapees is anybody's guess.

An even more profitable place for secret society activities has been Hong Kong since 1949. A lively entrepot trade further enhanced by legal and illegal traffic of goods across the border of the People's Republic made commercial profits soar. The realization that the new China intends to keep the peace around the city—a useful supplier of otherwise unobtainable deliveries—gave Hong Kong back its former stability. Capital, instead of fleeing from the vicinity of a powerful Communist state, began to flow from overseas: the Chinese in the Philippines, in Indonesia, even in the United States were anxious to invest money in the "boomtown." At the same time Hong Kong received penniless refugees from over the border, seven to ten thousand each month, to inhabit miserable shantytowns next door to the elegant, neon-lit streets of the prosperous shopkeepers. Everything was thus set for the revival of secret society enterprises in the Colony: a large, wealthy community to prey upon and a vast reservoir of starving desperadoes to replenish the ranks.

The "Triad Societies" of Hong Kong attained their worst notoriety in October, 1956, when they instigated dangerous riots all over the city to "commemorate" the Chinese National Holiday. It needed a considerable effort on the part of the British authorities to restore order and appease the Communist Chinese leadership over the border whose spokesmen expressed their indignation over the "outrages committed by bandits." While it is beyond doubt that many of the rioters were moved by genuine nationalistic and anti-communistic sentiments, some of them may have had ulterior motives. The Nationalists used the occasion to impress upon the British their strong influence among the population; the gangster element, on the other hand, saw the opportunity to intimidate the inhabitants of the city by a show of force and thus facilitate extortion.

Though in tiny Portuguese Macao the secret societies may not be quite so lucrative as in Hong Kong, operations were not disrupted by several years of Japanese occupation during the war and occasionally there are big fishes even in a small pond. Once one of the Macao secret societies abducted a wealthy merchant from a temple where he had been praying. In their hide-away the kidnappers cut off a piece of their victim's ear-lobe and sent it along with the ransom note to his relatives. It was a way to demonstrate that they "meant business" and facilitate the collection of a large sum of money without a hitch.

The secret societies in Malaya are less interested in politics except for such profitable deals as providing bodyguards and selling bloc votes to local politicians at the elections, but concentrate their attention on the

economic life of the underworld. They have forced thousands of prostitutes to pay regular "contributions," they maintain gambling houses to cash in on the Chinese predilection for chance games; they run the usual extortion rackets interspersed with occasional kidnappings, and, circumstances permitting, they engage in smuggling and piracy, particularly to and from Indonesia.

Singapore has been a real haven for secret societies ever since the foundation of the city at the beginning of the last century. The Chinese secret societies were legal in Singapore up to 1890 (in China they were banned by an Imperial Edict as far back as 1662) and the British authorities in the Straits had occasionally availed themselves of their services in the maintenance of order and peace. In 1955 there were, according to official police figures, no less than 160 secret societies with a total membership in the region of 13,000 in Singapore alone. True to the multi-racial character of the city, they are not exclusively Chinese. Some have Indian, Eurasian, occasionally even Malay members. Several adhere to the traditional Chinese nomenclature, others are known by numbers, others have found more up-to-date names. One boasts the proud name of "Apachees," another is named after the popular Hollywood film star Tony Curtis whom the members try to emulate with their hairstyle. These latter are rather "gangs" than real secret societies. It is a suspicion widely shared that several members of the Singapore police are in league with some of the secret societies. Many rich local merchants, unwilling to rely on the police, hired tough bodyguards during the "kidnap-scare" in recent months. Perhaps something good can come out of it if former secret society members manage to work their way up into the C.I.D. of Singapore, Hong Kong or Macao. An ex-convict turned detective, Francois Vidocq, taught nineteenth century France, and the whole West, how to fight crime in modern cities. Maybe, an ex-Triad-man will teach Asia, and the whole world one day, how to fight secret societies.

Calcutta.

GEORGE A. FLORIS

THE LOST LAND OF LYONESSE

THOUSANDS of years ago the Isles of Scilly, we are told, formed one mass of land called Lyonesse which was joined to the mainland of Western Cornwall. Tennyson tells in the *Idylls of the King* how the traitor Mordred stood on a hill, watching the retreating army disappear across that vast tract of country when suddenly a terrible earthquake convulsed the land, and the Atlantic Ocean rushed wildly in, sweeping Mordred and his men away into the whirlpool of waves, drowning for ever the fair land of Lyonesse, so that nothing remained but the granite peaks, now known as the Isles of Scilly. (On a clear day from Lands End the faint outline of the Isles may be seen far away on the horizon.)

As the Scillonian bore us from Penzance round the south coast of Cornwall into the deep waters of the Atlantic, we looked back at Land's

End with its strange rocks and caverns, trying to picture those far-off days. Half way between Land's End and Scilly stands the lonely Wolf Light-house, where, in the days before its light shone out, many a ship had been wrecked. As the Wolf grew small astern, we stood in the bows to catch the first glimpse of the islands as we steamed slowly towards St. Mary's harbour, where the Scillonian discharged her passengers and cargo on the small quayside. There were no taxis there, but a man standing by with a cart collected and delivered our baggage, while we walked up a passage in the rain to the little one-street town of Hugh Town. It was depressing to arrive at such an ordinary looking place, where the houses turned inwards on to the dull grey street, with their back-yards and washing lines facing the sea and the sandy beach, but I soon discovered that St. Mary's is not only the biggest of the five inhabited islands but the vital centre of the lives of the people, for it is here that the Scillonian, owned by the islanders themselves, comes in three times a week in winter, and six times in summer, carrying stores of all kinds. She is regarded as a person, and her movements are a matter of deep concern to all the islanders, many of whom assemble on the pier to greet her. Their flower trade is entirely in her hands, for over a 100 million spring flowers are exported annually. Everything on the islands depends on weather and tides, but, although the Scillonian may be delayed and her passage rough, she arrives eventually. Sometimes letters are held up for hours, and there are times when newspapers are a day late. There is a timelessness that is one of the great attractions of Scilly. There are no advertisements on the Isles. The only notice in Hugh Town was chalked on a small board, announcing the sale of tickets, at the Milk Bar by the Post Office, for trips to the islands.

The next day was fine, and the Lily of Laguna, gaily painted red, was waiting to take us to Bryer and Tresco. The air was clear and bright and most exhilarating. Soon we were right out at sea, gazing on the tiny archipelago of islands, 20 miles out in the Atlantic, spread out in the bluest of blue seas. The individual islands were pointed out to us, but it was almost impossible to recognize them again, for they appeared to change places in the most disconcerting way as we looked at them from different angles. Our sense of direction seemed to vanish in this magic sea of islands, with their ever-changing aspects, transformed by cloud and sunshine, wind and tide. We passed the tree-less island of Samson, shaped like an egg-timer, with twin hills to north and south, and a narrow sandy plain in the middle. It is strewn with granite boulders, and covered with coarse grass, bracken, and brambles. Gulls perch on the hillside and fly overhead in complete possession of this now uninhabited island. Like most of the other islands Samson has its ancient burial chambers and barrows. Those on Samson are said to be the tombs of the Kings of Lyonesse. Due north is Bryer, and here two girls with rucksacks were put ashore in a dinghy. They intended spending a few days on each of the inhabited islands beginning with Bryer, with its 80 inhabitants (and little or no accommodation available). We watched them clambering over the wet rocks till they disappeared over the brow of a low hill.

On the map the inhabited islands look like pieces of a jig-saw puzzle, and Tresco, which lies alongside Bryer, has a coast line which might easily once have fitted into it. At Crow Point, the most southerly point of Tresco, the second largest of the islands, I was taken ashore and told that I would

be collected at five o'clock at New Grimsby Quay on the other side of the island. There are no ordinary sign posts on any of the islands, but an arrow pointed to the famous Abbey Gardens. Here were tropical plants of all kinds growing in profusion in the soft fragrant air. After lunch under the palm trees I went in search of New Grimsby, and luckily I met a small boy called Vincent who became my guide. We wandered through the Abbey grounds and the courtyard of the house, owned by the Dorrien-Smiths, past a fresh water lake, where wild birds disport themselves and ostriches roam gravely beside it. Vincent lived in a cottage in the village built round the crescent-shaped harbour of New Grimsby, and there he was joined by a friend. As they knew every inch of Tresco, they made excellent guides. We walked to Cromwell's Castle, uphill over muddy fields and boggy moorland, jumping from one clump of springy dead heather to another to avoid leaving our shoes behind. The castle stands on a neck of land only a few yards wide, separated from Bryer by a narrow channel. From its strong round tower, built by Admiral Blake for the defence of the island, it could sweep the sea on either side with its guns. The boys dashed into the castle, and soon the old walls resounded with their shouts (others had joined them) pretending that they were defending the castle (and me, "the Queen of the Castle") against the enemy. We climbed up steep steps and looked over to Hangman Island, where Admiral Blake is said to have hanged some of his men. A steep hill behind led to the ruins of King Charles' Castle, of which not much remains but an arched doorway and one intact gun-port. Far below is a wide sweep of moorland, stretching away to the cliff edge, and due north the top of the white lighthouse of Round Island is just visible. When we reached the village again, Vincent, in true Scillonian fashion, invited me into his home, and, in his mother's absence, entertained me with the utmost courtesy.

The next day was calm and the sea a wonderful blue as we set out for the bird sanctuary of Annet, and St. Agnes with its 70 inhabitants. Sea birds of all kinds were circling overhead. The coast line is a network of tiny bays and headlands where shearwaters and puffins breed under the sea thrift. Shags stood aloof on the highest ledges, gazing into the water below, seagulls shrieked, curlews called, and herons sailed across the sky, while the wind whistled and the waves lapped against the rocks. I was the only person that day to land at Forth Conger, the small quay of St. Agnes, covered with long slippery seaweed. This island is more isolated than the other inhabited islands, for on the south it has no neighbours, and on the west only the archipelago of barren rocks with the Bishop Rock standing lonely and aloof beyond them. There is a smaller island on the eastern side of St. Agnes, called the Gugh—pronounced "Goo"—which at low tide is joined to it by a dazzlingly white, broad, sandy bar, and at high tide is cut off. There was no sound but the breaking of the waves against the stony beach. I found an ancient barrow half hidden in the coarse grass on the downs—perhaps the burial place, long ago, of some great man, a holy place where he could rest in peace far from strife and turmoil. (A little higher up, beyond a field of waving daffodils, I caught a glimpse, through an opening in the hills, of the sea beyond.) I was loath to leave this lovely place, but the tide was coming in, so I crossed the bar again, followed by a fierce cock from the farm near by. A path leads uphill to the little village of St. Agnes with its minute Post Office,

tiny shop, and village green near the old, now disused, lighthouse. The people spend their lives in great contentment with their roots deep in the daily life of the island. There is something about St. Agnes which defies analysis. (It is possible to walk round it in an hour, and across it in 20 minutes, but no one gets to know this, or any other of the islands, in that way. It is full of colour, the grass seems greener there, the sea and the sky bluer, and the air clearer than on the other islands.) It is entirely unsophisticated, remote, and free from all the regimentation that rules so much of life on the mainland.

From St. Agnes we embarked on an adventurous journey towards Bishop Rock Lighthouse, through the weird western rocks, where the waves beat unceasingly, while seals slide off the rocks into the sea, and birds fill the air with strange cries, and came to Rosevear which had been the base for those who built the lighthouse. There it stands like a monolith in the surging waves, a lasting monument to its brave builders. By day it often looks grey and austere like the rocks round it, but at night it comes to life as it flashes out its coloured signals to ships at sea, while the everlasting waves of the mighty ocean roll on westward for 3,000 miles towards America, and eastward over the 400 churches and villages of the lost land of Lyonesse resting for ever at the bottom of the sea.

SOPHIE SHEPPARD.

THOMAS FULLER

EVEN in the midst of great upheaval and strife some men have been able to cultivate the quiet mind and to enrich English Literature. Such a man was Thomas Fuller, famous in his own day as preacher and historian and remembered nowadays for his "Worthies of England" and his "Church History of Britain." Fuller was no dry-as-dust author for his wit steeped through all his writings. He was friendly and at his ease with all classes of people. This trait enabled him to secure many anecdotes. It was his habit to include interesting incidents which came into his prodigious mind whether they were entirely relevant to the subject on hand or not. In his own time he was noted for his remarkable memory. John Aubrey declared: "His natural memory was very great, to which he had added the art of memory; he would repeat to you forwards and backwards all the signs from Ludgate to Charing Cross." After talking to the "great Tom Fuller" Pepys noted: "And also to what perfection he hath now brought the art of memory." Coleridge even went so far as to observe: "Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced, great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men. He is a very voluminous writer and yet in all his volumes on so many different subjects, it is scarcely too much to say that you will hardly find a page in which some one sentence out of every three does not deserve to be quoted for itself—as motto or as maxim."

Thomas Fuller was born 350 years ago in June at Aldwinckle St. Peter's, Northamptonshire, where his father was incumbent. According to John Aubrey, "he was a boy of pregnant wit and when the Bishop and his father were discoursing, he would be by and harken, and now and then put in,

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and sometimes beyond expectation of his years." The countryside in which he grew up was pleasant and peaceful with much to interest a lively intelligent boy. He received part of his early education from a nearby curate who saw that he diligently studied "Lily's Latin Grammar." Indeed in after life Fuller observed that he was "often beaten for Lily's sake." It may have been that he preferred browsing in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," a life-long favourite of his, to studying his Latin. At thirteen he entered Queen's College, Cambridge, his father's old college, which he called "the place wherein I had my first breeding and for it, and all therein, shall ever have an unfeigned affection." After taking his B.A. and M.A. degrees, he was admitted to Sidney Sussex College to study divinity in 1629. Like several relations, including his uncle Bishop Davenant, he became a clergyman and for a time was minister of St. Benedict's, Cambridge. In 1631 he was appointed a Prebend in Salisbury Cathedral by his uncle, and given the living of Netherbury-in-Ecclesia, Dorset. His light duties enabled him to divide his time between Salisbury and Cambridge. Later he was appointed to the living of Broad Windsor where his son John was born in 1641. Little is known of his first wife except that her name was Ellen and that she died shortly after John's birth. Fuller married again in middle age and had a second family. He firmly believed that a woman's place was in the home and that "learning in a woman is but little to be prized."

Neither marriage nor his church duties interfered with his studies. History was his favourite though his quest for knowledge embraced many subjects. His first important book, "The History of the Holy War," was published in 1639. Some of his sermons were also published and proved popular, and he wrote several other books before his two most famous works. He often preached in London. During the early Civil War days he showed his loyalty to the King's authority yet he also pleaded for a peaceful settling of differences. His religion was that of a more tolerant age than the 17th century, probably inherited from his father who was also a tolerant man. Although he had no admiration for the ceremonies beloved by Archbishop Laud and his adherents, he had none for the extreme Puritans either. When he joined the King at Oxford, he was amongst the last of the orthodox clergy to leave London. During the conflict he became Chaplain to Ralph Hopton and later to the infant Princess Henrietta. Even during the Commonwealth and Protectorate he did not go into exile like many Royalist clergymen. He preferred the old order but maintained: "If denied my first desire to live under that Church-government I have affected, I will contentedly conform to the Presbyterian Government and endeavour to deport myself quietly and conformably under the same." He spent much time at his parish of Waltham, Essex, to which he was appointed in 1649 and rarely preached in London. In 1658 he became Rector of Cranford where he is buried. In spite of his tolerant views he was relieved when the Restoration took place, for he was weary of the fanatics who, he maintained: "have pleased their fancies these late years with turning and tossing and tumbling of religion—they have cast and contrived it into a hundred antic postures of their own imagining. However, it is now to be hoped, that after they have tired themselves out with doing nothing, but only trying and tampering this and that way to no purpose, they may at last return and leave religion in the same condition wherein they found it?"

Not long after the Restoration he was appointed a Chaplain to Charles

II and often preached in London. In his Diary Pepys recorded: "In my way heard Mr. Thomas Fuller preach at the Savoy upon our forgiving of other men's trespasses, shewing among other things that we are to go to law never to revenge but only to repayre, which I think a good distinction." Later, however, Pepys's good opinion changed for he noted: "At the Savoy heard Dr. Fuller preach upon David's words 'I will wait with patience all the days of my appointed time until my charge comes,' but methought it was a poor, dry sermon. And I am afraid my former high opinion of his preaching was more of opinion than judgement."

Fuller's "The Church History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the year 1649" was published in 1656 and helped to make him famous. He had begun to collect material for it as early as 1642, but the Civil War had interrupted his research. He states: "For the first five years during our actual Civil War (1642-47), I had little list or leisure to write, fearing to be made an history, and shifting daily for my safety. And that time I could not live to study, who did not study to live." While writing the book he was advised to make haste or the Church might be dead before he completed it. After his work was published, asked Izaak Walton what he thought of it. Walton answered that he thought "it should be acceptable to all tempers, because there were in it *shades* for the warm and *sunshine* for those of cold constitution; that with youthful readers the facetious parts would be profitable to make the serious more palatable, while some revered old readers might fancy themselves, in his 'History of the Church' as in a flower garden, or one full of evergreens."

Probably Fuller's "Worthies of England" is more famous than his "Church History" nowadays, for it is still extensively quoted. Of this, his last book, the author observed: "England may not unfitly be compared to an House not very great, but convenient, and the several Shires may properly be resembled to the rooms thereof. Now as learned Master Camden and painful Master Speed with others have described the rooms themselves, so it is our intention, God willing, to describe the furniture of those rooms; such eminent commodities which every County doth produce, with the persons of Quality bred therein and some observable coincident with the same subject." He gave five reasons for compiling the work: his first, "to gain some glory to God"; his second, "to preserve the memories of the dead"; his third, "to present examples to the living"; his fourth, "to entertain the reader with delight"; and lastly "(which I am not ashamed publicly to profess) to procure some honest profit to myself." He added: "If not so happy to obtain all, I will be joyful to attain some, yea, and especially the first, of these ends, the motives of my endeavours." Unfortunately he did not live to see the outcome of his great work; he was taken ill while preaching and died shortly afterwards on August 16, 1661. His book was published after his death by his son John and became a great reference book on England for almost every aspect of the land is included and his "Worthies" are grouped together under their respective counties. The author himself could be considered another "Worthy," for in a trouble-racked country, he had (to use his own words) succeeded in building "a little cock-boat or small vessel or quiet conscience in his own heart, there to escape to the haven of happiness." He had done this without losing the integrity which made him one of the most famous men of his time.

MARION TROUGHTON.

SUPPLICATION

*May she find rest in sleep,
As a flower infolded
By the bud's curling fingers,
Her beauty close guarded.*

*May she find peace in sleep,
As a young bird protected
By the broad wing of night
From the threats of the morning.*

*May she find strength in sleep,
In detachment from turmoil;
As waves heal the seashore,
Heal the wounds of the daytime.*

*May she find joy in sleep,
As trees under moonshine;
By the tune of her dreaming
May she dance to her heaven.*

*May she be free in sleep,
By stars may she travel,
As the wind on the heathland,
Through the night to love's homeland.*

*May she lie quiet in sleep,
As hills under starshine,
And night's peace uphold her
In the cool cave of morning.*

*May she be loved in sleep
As I love her in waking,
When she moves forth to challenge
The day she adorns.*

B. EVAN OWEN

WAR VETERAN

*The wound, once painful down his cheek, has healed
In a faint ridge of red; a relic of the war.
So that torn and ugly mouth, which once revealed
Its wrongs in an oblique supplement
To the force of actual words, has bled and spent
Its warnings on a world which would not care.*

*And now that mouth is hopeless: shut and dumb
Before it gained the authority of speech.
His facial tissues have multiplied the sum
Of flesh, and sealed its lips while yet
They groped for words, gaping inarticulate.*

*Condemned to meek silence they presage each
Change in barometric pressure, each fresh
Vagary of the weather, with an ache.
But still its wrongs demand redress.
It is the poet who is left to warn
The men in whom strife may yet again be born.
His pity is for them, and for that dumb mouth's sake.*

ROBERT BRUCE

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

NORMAN ANGELL AND THE BOMB

More than half a century after his first book was published Sir Norman Angell has produced a typically realistic study of the problem of defence in the nuclear age with particular reference to the role allotted therein to the English-speaking peoples. A new book by Sir Norman is an event that demands close attention. The man whose *Great Illusion* gave the famous warning that wars cannot end in victory for either side—a warning repeated by Mr. Neville Chamberlain 30 years later—cannot be ignored when he utters a new warning in the new circumstances obtaining half a century later. What is new is the thermonuclear weapon. What is important is to assess its practical consequence. Can nuclear annihilation, as he calls it, be averted, and, if so, how? Through a closely woven and clearly argued survey of what has happened in the first half of this appalling century he is led to the conclusion that peace is unobtainable except through an adequate and convincingly recognized state of defence in the countries liable to attack and annihilation: in other words in the western Christian countries. If, says Sir Norman, those countries are to be thus defended, they must first set their own house in order, compose their misunderstandings and eliminate their mutually harmful rivalries. That same condition, he adds, applies to the setting up and effective operation of that "world government" upon which so many harassed students of affairs base their faith and hope. Without a sound provision for defence, he claims, there can be no provision for security and peace. In 1914, he says, we could have had peace if we had been willing to accept the Kaiser's terms of a German domination of Europe, and in 1939 we could again have had peace on Hitler's similar terms.

Sir Norman's broad thesis is that just as the religious wars were brought to an end, not by the military victory of either side, but by the elaboration of a tolerant system in which orthodox and heretic lived and let live, so today the solution must be the peaceful co-existence of the two halves of the world which profess and practise their different systems of civilization. In the alternative, he gives the warning, the West stands in imminent danger. That warning must be taken seriously, as must everything that comes from his realist and logical pen. But while it is true that an equipoise in defensive strength between two actually or potentially hostile camps may ward off or suspend an outbreak into violence, it may have the opposite effect. It may precipitate an outbreak through nervous tension. There are those who run a little ahead of Sir Norman in their religious faith: who believe that in God's world evil tends to destroy itself, and that in the present instance the overwhelmingly catastrophic danger—the threatened "annihilation"—will itself do the trick by imposing disarmament upon a world stampeded into peace by the sheer horror of the alternative. It may be that Sir Norman would himself on the longer view sympathize with such an expectation; his present concern—expressed with all his accustomed clarity and informed realism—is confined to the world as it is today, thermonuclearly armed, dangerously poised.

GEORGE GLASGOW

Defence and the English-speaking Role. By Norman Angell. Pall Mall Press. Cloth 10s. 6d. Paperback 3s. 6d.

MOSCOW AND PEKING STRATEGY

America's institutes of technology are tireless in their intensive search for facts. Massachusetts is responsible for this volume, subtitled "A study in the post-war evolution of international strategy," and written from the Department of Political Science in Washington University, St. Louis. The author's careful examination of the goings on of Palme Dutt, Ajoy Ghosh, P. C. Joshi,

Rajeshwar Rao, Ranadive, and other spokesmen of the Communist Party of India leads him to the conclusion that Moscow has pursued in succession three strategies which he designates as left, right, and neo-Marxist. This last is the Communist strategy of the Cold War and is not, as some even in Moscow at first supposed, a reversion to Lenin's which was practised till about 1935, when the strategy of the right replaced the left. During the 1939-1945 war Mao Tse-tung developed a fundamentally different strategy which was not then understood in Moscow, and was largely unknown to Communist parties in other countries.

The leftists pictured capitalism as the frontal enemy, and rallied the "exploited" workers and poor peasants to fight it. The rightists favoured common fronts, co-operation with Labour Parties and with Labour Governments "fellow-travelling" with themselves. When the Cold War started in 1947 this policy was dropped because Labour Parties and Labour Governments were usually pro-American. Hence the birth of neo-Marxist strategy, which is one of frank invitation to all "classes, groups, parties, organizations and individuals," including even "capitalists and feudal elements," the sole test of their eligibility being friendliness to the Soviet Union and hatred of America.

Naturally the Telengana revolt of 1948, in what was then the Nizam of Hyderabad's principality, bulks largely in this report. Though eventually suppressed, when the Indian Government took over, this revolt had at first a considerable success. Landlords and officials were killed or driven out, rent paying stopped, debts were cancelled, lands distributed, and local authorities set up. The rising was organized by the Andhra Provincial Committee. Today Telengana is in the state of Andhra which has since been constituted on linguistic grounds. Southern India produces the larger number of Indian Communists; but the party, which Mr. Nehru has characterized as "the stupidest party in India," is numerically not strong in India as a whole. Since this book was written, however, it has won an electoral victory in Kerala, a state still further south, and has formed the Government now in office. Curiously enough, Southern India has a large body of Christians and these, chiefly Roman Catholics, have of late been stoutly resisting the threat to their schools which the educational programme of the Communist Government involves.

Mr. Kautsky is undoubtedly right in suggesting that at present Chinese leadership counts for much with the Communists in India. Moreover China's friendship counts for much with the Government of India. Mao showed himself the most diplomatic negotiator at the Bandung Conference, willing to make compromises and full of bonhomie. Since then his influence has made itself felt as far west as Warsaw, and it cannot be negligible in Moscow itself. What for all of us is sadly important is that Chinese policy continues to show itself bitterly hostile to the United States. There might be some hope of improving relations with Moscow if Sino-American relations could be bettered. Unfortunately Mao Tse-tung shows little sign of softening them. His long indoctrination of Chinese youth with hatred of America and America's view of the strategic importance of the straits of Formosa—which her navy patrols—are contributing factors. But never have I seen elsewhere such appalling and disgusting cartoons as those depicting bloodthirsty American ogres which stared at me from the hoardings of Peking in 1951.

ARTHUR MOORE

Moscow and the Communist Party of India. By John H. Kautsky. Chapman & Hall. 48s.

ASSAULTING COMMUNISM

In a doctor's drawing room in tragic Kragujevac I protested on Election Day, November 11, 1945, to a graduate in comparative Slav philology. I said Stalin and the Red Army, Marshal Tito and the Partisan Forces had been honoured in toasts during luncheon by her husband, but the British and Americans had

been ignored. I looked at the other guests, General Koca Popovic (now Foreign Minister) and General Peka Dapcevic ("Liberator" of Belgrade). General Milovan Djilas, the tieless Montenegrin everybody appeared to respect, answered me in good Russian: "Next to the Germans the British are the most hated people in our country." In 1946 I met him by accident in a fashionable Belgrade restaurant, the Majestic, and said I now knew his importance, so would he please arrange for me to meet the Marshal privately. Everybody else, I added, had failed in the effort for a month past. General Djilas, tieless, taciturn, monosyllabic, gave me the ex-directory number and within three days I was alone with Tito for two and a half hours. I confess I am astonished at the quality of the volume now presented, for General Djilas always spoke with fire and emotion, with cold logic, and showed the egoism of the poet who had suffered in the university for his Communist faith. Mediocrity and unfinished phrases, generalities, assaults on Communism from unsteady shoulder, light punches below the belt—it all looks unreal and boyish. The piece appears to be botched together, and less than speaker's headings are given the clothes of a costly book, with superficialities of this kind (chosen at random): "Party members feel that authority, that control over property brings with it privileges in this world: consequently unscrupulous ambition, duplicity, toadyism and jealousy must inevitably increase." He reveals that "careerism and an ever-expanding bureaucracy are the incurable diseases of Communism." And what of this? "Stalin's Imperialism was exorbitant, and what was even worse ineffective."

The most fascinating question appears unanswered: was it in 1945, 1946, 1948 or later, that General Djilas found Communism—his, Tito's, Stalin's or Khrushchev's—so unbearable? Serious historians will ask whether the Djilas trial of 1957 was Opera Bouffe, or produced to simulate official anger, for the benefit of Soviet leaders who had not forgotten the startling allegations by Kostov and Rajk before their execution for treason in 1949. Did the Bulgarian not declare that General Djilas confided in Sofia in March, 1945, that Tito planned the "gradual moving away of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia from the USSR" and mentioned that British and U.S. aid during the war "would be continued afterwards also"? Did Rajk not reveal that Rankovic, Tito and Djilas had in Budapest demanded ruthless anti-Sovietism, with hush-hush pro-Americanism to help them rescue Hungary from Stalin's grip—with U.S. military aid? Was not the American Minister in Budapest promising Rajk to "divert" Russia's troops from Budapest by keeping the Soviets busy somewhere else—already in 1948? Has Djilas protested too much?

GEORGE BILAINKIN

The New Class. By Milovan Djilas. Thames and Hudson. 21s.

THE FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM

The last volume of Mr. Sherrard's trilogy on William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham, deals with the years from his fall from power in 1761 until his death in 1778. This book is an interesting and useful contribution to the discussion of Chatham's role in politics in those years. Mr. Sherrard has, upon the whole, presented a convincing case against the proposition that Chatham in this period was a disruptive force in British politics, the man most responsible for confusion in domestic affairs. But he is avowedly concerned to rebut criticisms of his conduct and leans at times too much to the side of his hero; and although he has cast a wide net, there are a number of relevant manuscript sources which he does not appear to have consulted. The earlier chapters, based on the abundant material in the Newcastle and Hardwicke papers, are the best, though here handling of the story of the peace negotiations would have been strengthened had he used the State papers and the Egremont

manuscripts. Also, while it is easy and not unjust to pour scorn upon the inept diplomacy of Bute, Bedford, and Newcastle, lesser mortals without the fire of the born war-leader, their views regarding the desirability of peace were more reasonable than these pages suggest. The resuscitation of Horace Walpole's story of Henry Fox bribing the House of Commons to vote for the peace is to be regretted: it suggests an abdication of the historian's function of producing the real explanations for the conduct of the House—which can be explained without recourse to a story which may well have had as flimsy a basis as the rumours that there was a bank rate leakage in 1957. Incorrect is the statement that Chatham's cabinet of 1766 contained only six members: at this period the heads of the fighting services were included, and Mr. Sherrard has had under his eye a printed document showing (correctly) that there were eight Cabinet Ministers before the addition of Charles Townshend. Chatham's lack of finesse in provoking a split with the Rockinghams over the dismissal of Lord Edgumbe is too easily excused. Edgumbe was not offered a fair exchange and was dismissed out of hand after refusing the offer. But more deserving of censure was the folly of giving Rockingham a pretext for leveraging the rank and file of his friends out of their offices, when every month's delay would have converted more and more of them into established supporters of the Chatham ministry. Had Chatham "absorbed" more of the Rockinghams into his following, there might have been no need for the wide concessions later made to the Bedford party with their disastrous effects upon American policy. In dealing with Chatham's ideas on foreign policy in 1766-7, Mr. Sherrard gives no indication that he has consulted diplomatic papers other than the correspondence with the British envoy at Berlin (which he has read only in that envoy's files preserved in the British Museum), thus ignoring the interlinking character of the diplomatic correspondence in the State papers. Finally, a book in which close attention is given to Chatham's relations with Grafton and Rockingham would have been improved by examination of their papers and also of those of Burke. All these collections have been available to scholars for some years, and contain much more than was selected for printing by nineteenth century editors.

IAN R. CHRISTIE

Lord Chatham and America. By O. A. Sherrard. Bodley Head. 30s.

THE EMPEROR CHARLES V

"My life," the Emperor said after wearily laying down the sceptre, "has been one long journey." Like St. Paul and possibly with the Letter to the Corinthians in mind, he gave to the dazzling assemblage of Europe's nobility gathered to witness his abdication in the great hall of the castle of Brussels on October 25, 1555, a moving account of his imperial commission:

I have travelled nine times to Germany, to Spain six times, to Italy seven times, and I came here 10 times. I was in France four times, whether for peace or war, in England twice and in Africa twice. That makes altogether 40 journeys without counting those of lesser importance. . . I have embarked on the Mediterranean three times, and now it will be the fourth time that I sail on it, on my last journey. . .

In an interview published some years ago in a Madrid evening paper Dr. Gregorio Maraón opined that "the best books on Spain are written by the English." It is legitimate to speculate if that eminent authority would modify his belief in the light of *Charles V, Father of Europe*, the reading of which has been for one Hispanophile a delight. The author, we are informed, is a native of Bohemia, born and brought up in Prague. That she is widely travelled, has consulted the German, French, English and Spanish sources, is imbued with profound culture and deep feeling for history, and enjoys wide familiarity with the classics, philosophy, and the Catholic mystics, is indicated in her bibliography and evident on every page.

This life of the last Holy Roman Emperor is much more than an able journalistic survey, for we are shown the great Habsburg in the round at Ghent, his birthplace at Bruges, Aix-la-Chapelle for the imperial coronation, Brussels, Naumburg, Regensburg (still boasting his residence, and affair with Barbara Blomberg), Nuremberg, Burgos, Córdoba, Granada and Toledo, scenes of his happiest and most desolate hours, Valladolid his capital, and Seville where he honeymooned in the Alcazar gardens with his exquisite and exemplary bride Isabella of Portugal, Milan, Rome, Windsor, Tunis, Algiers, and finally remote Yuste where his red-brick Flemish-style refuge, adjoining the ruined Hieronimite monastery where he retired to die, still seems impregnated with his personality. There and elsewhere the imagination may visualize that paternally genial if occasionally ruthless figure with his genuine piety, love of the table and unpuritanical enjoyments.

With mind, heart and spirit in unison, Frau von Schwarzenfeld gives a balanced, integral, if somewhat Surrealist portrait of her hero. With her native background, wide reading and research, her travels and feminine insight she has produced a work of indispensable reading to an understanding of the motives inspiring the policies of Charles V and Philip II in face of the tremendous spiritual upheaval of the Reformation. The translation by Ruth Mary Bethell is in every way praiseworthy.

S. F. A. COLES

Charles V Father of Europe. By Gertrude von Schwarzenfeld. Hollis and Carter, 30s.

GERMAN POETS IN EXILE

Eighty-six German writers swore an oath of allegiance to Hitler and wrote poems and novels in praise of him. The books of the most famous writers were publicly burnt while they themselves fled into exile, among them about 80 poets, some of Aryan and some of Jewish origin. "When we reached the frontier," one of them said, "many of us had no passports, but each of us had his hatred." What did they say while Hitler's Third Reich lasted? Berthold Viertel said in his *Litany of the Expelled*: "What had once been our fatherland is now a hell." Franz Werfel called Hitler "a demon of filth." Bert Brecht said: "Oh Germany, pale mother, what have thy sons made of thee!" Max Barth spoke of the beggar-like life of most German poets in exile and of "the bitter bread of exile." Many people evaded them and it seemed as if they were inwardly saying: "Leper! Leper!" We bore "your shame, Germany," Barth goes on. When people asked them: Where, among so many millions, were "your three just men?" they felt "the hatred and contempt" of the German name in this question and knew: "We shall never more call these others our brethren, for they have raped our mother."

They all knew that "the brown plague" would one day be carried off by the Devil. Would Germany thereby suffer the fate of Sodom? Paul Zech answered: "I believe in the three just men." One of the most amiable exiled poets, a descendant of Silesian peasants, Max Hermann-Neisse, lived and died in London during the war. His poems are full of longing for the lost countryside of his youth, but he never felt any regret for having fled from his barbarized fatherland. "I was once a German poet, now my life is as ghostly as my poems. When distress and shame become too heavy to bear there remains only despair and the Last Judgment." In London there lived, and still lives, Arnold Hahn whose 49 sonnets in praise of the Jews were published by Gollancz during the war. They showed to a world horrified by the German barbarities what many great Jews from Moses and Jesus to Albert Einstein had done for mankind: "Now this whole nation is crucified. A curse on those who hunt down the Jews so that the German may be 'awakened'!" Karl Wolfskehl, whose forefathers had lived on the Rhine for more than a thousand years, spent the last years of his life in New Zealand. In his cycle

of poems, *Hiob*, he saw the future fate of Germany in what the blinded Hiob Samson does at Gaza to the overlords of the Philistines by taking hold of the two middle pillars upon which their palace stands and bringing it down upon himself and his enemies. To the Germans Wolfskehl said: "The German spirit is where I am."

J. LESSER

German Literature in Exile. I: The Concern of the Poets. By W. K. Pfeiler. University of Nebraska, Lincoln, U.S.A.

ON SACRIFICING TO THE GRACES

When did woman begin to paint her face? One hazards a guess that it was almost as soon as she had a face to paint. Surely the prehistoric damsels who wore bracelets of pierced shells or necklaces of clay beads stained with ochre must have found the juice of some herb to lend to their lips and cheeks the tints presumably most pleasing to the home-wending bison-hunter? The subject is one of infinite variety, and the story is as entertaining as the stories of follies and absurdities always seem to be. It is now very well re-told by Mr. Neville Williams, who as Assistant Keeper of the Public Records Office is in a privileged position; this he has exploited to the full and has also ranged wide and dug deep beyond those neo-Gothic walls. Plays, periodicals, memoirs, advertisements, satires and sermons have all been made to contribute to the rich mass of material here sorted out and set forth for our enjoyment.

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Every writer is free to choose or reject examples at his own pleasure, and where the choice has been so happy and the rejections are so excusable as in the present work it would be ungracious to linger over omissions which cause momentary surprise or regret. The story grows "curiouser and curiouser" as it unfolds, but the basic elements never vary: a desire to be admired and an ineradicable doubt as to the efficacy of Nature's unassisted contributions.

DOROTHY MARGARET STUART

Powder and Paint. By Neville Williams. Longmans. 18s.

FROM AUSTEN TO ZEUXIPPE

Sense and Sensibility, with *Lady Susan*, and *The Watsons* (Macdonald Illustrated Classics. 12s. 6d.). Another Jane Austen in a smart new cover, inside which are to be found also the draft and fragment of two uncompleted novels, whose functions as forerunners of *Mansfield Park* and *Emma* may

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Principles and Persuasions (Eyre & Spottiswoode. 21s.). These 28 mainly book reviews of Anthony West which "originally appeared in *The New Yorker*, some of them in somewhat different form," are indeed "The Literary Essays" of the subtitle. The criticism is no tired offspring of the genus hack; if appraisal is harsh it is bracing, and controversy does not aim at destruction. H. G. Wells is seen in close-up (even from knee-height), and T. E. Lawrence with more insight and less rancour than Mr. Richard Aldington managed; Walpole and Orwell are re-evaluated, and the work of a Dickens or a Zola, a Graham Greene or a George Eliot re-interpreted.

The Man on Your Back (University of Oklahoma Press. \$3.95). Wyatt Marrs produces "A Preface to the Art of Living Without Producing in Modern Society." The beggars, panderers, spongers and predators, the family, political, religious and economic parasites are discovered poisoning human relationships. The cry is urgent, sometimes shrill, against those who take without giving, against wars of aggression versus "the usefully motivated part of humanity," against our undoubtedly "lopsided relationship of reward and service."

Democracy at Ease (Pall Mall Press. 9s.). David Goldblatt, recalled as a strong and devoted Liberal candidate, went to New Zealand in search of health and stayed for love. He examines the people in town or hamlet, political parties and personalities, the birth of the Welfare State, money and labour, press and school, materialism and the ideal.

The New Ghana (Pan Books. 2s. 6d.). The birth of a nation witnessed by one of her sons, J. G. Amamoo, a young medical student now in London because "my country needs more doctors than writers." The fifteenth century Portuguese settlement emerges in 1957 as an independent country within the British Commonwealth; there are questions still unanswered, but the free world echoes the author's hopes for Ghana's success as an African democracy.

Letters from Hilaire Belloc (Hollis & Carter. 30s.). When Robert Speaight's biography was published much of the correspondence had to be put aside. Now selected and edited by him, it represents the years of vigour, of prejudices strong and often violent, from 1900 to 1942. The arrogance and the intolerance can be tiring, but Belloc had sweetness and affection too, laughter and sunlight for his friends, wit and agility not always reserved for deadly duelling, and these are manifest here. Unrepentingly one lingers on the poet, and in that aura he is most rewarding in his letters still.

A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities (George Allen & Unwin. 30s.). Oskar Seyffert's standard reference work on the literature, art, religion and mythology has been twice revised and edited by Henry Nettleship and J. E. Sandys and is now reprinted. Students and lovers, inheritors and torchbearers still, of Greek and Roman civilization will welcome the relative cheapness of this volume with its hundreds of illustrations.

Greek Myths (Cassell. 30s.). Two years ago this reader took the just appeared first edition of this book of Robert Graves, in two Penguin volumes at 3s. 6d. each, on an enchanted holiday. They were stowed about the person or the appurtenances of one who shivered in the silence of Troy seeing Hector's body restored to Priam, who listened where the Delphic oracle spoke, who walked among the fallen columns and wild flowers of Olympia, and climbed Santorini's cliff on muleback. This summer, somewhat dogeared now, the two books because of their convenient handling return to Greece with their owner. Robert Graves has earned our gratitude for retelling the stories of the gods and heroes, embodying the conclusions of modern anthropology and archaeology; our debt is surely doubled as on to the appropriate shelf goes the newer, bulkier, stiff-covered edition.

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